ANCIENT HISTORY:

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, MEDES, LYDIANS
CARTHAGINIANS, PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, THE
SELEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA, AND PARTHIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS.

NEW YORK:
ROBERT CARTER, 58 CANAL STREET.
PITTSBURG:—THOMAS CARTER.

1844.

STEREOTYPED BY T. B. SMITH,
216 WILLIAM-STREET, NEW YORK.

HENRY LUDWIG, PRINTER.

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THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.

PERSIA, called in the Old Testament Paras, and by Arabic and Persian writers, Fars, or Farsistan, is used in two significations: first, it is applied to the country originally inhabited by the Persians; and, secondly, to the various Asiatic countries included in the Persian empire founded by Cyrus, which empire extended from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Black and Caspian Seas to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Herodotus says, that the Persians were once called Cephenes by the Greeks, but by themselves and their neighbours Artæi, or heroes; which is a proof of that national vanity in which people of different countries are prone to indulge. The latter word, probably, contains the same root as Arii, the original name of the Medes, and Arya, by which the followers of the Brahminic religion are designated in Sanscrit. The same root occurs in Aria and Ariana, from the latter of which the modern Persian name Iran, seems to be derived.

Commentators on the Sacred Scriptures are generally agreed that Elam is the Scripture name of Persia till the days of the prophet Daniel. Modern historians also write to this effect. Ancient historians and geographers, however, distinguish Elam or Elymais from Persia, and Media, and even Susiana; and it is difficult to reconcile this with their opinion who hold that Elam and Persia are the same, and that wherever we meet, in Scripture, with the name Elam, it signifies Persia. Besides, from Xenophon's account, before the time of Cyrus,

Persia was comparatively an insignificant and thinly populated region, containing only 120,000 men fit for war, which would not make the population more than half a million of persons. The Scripture account of Elam represents it as a powerful monarchy in ages before the empires of Nineveh and Babylon had begun to rise. How can these accounts be reconciled? The invasion and conquest of Elam is noticed Jer. xxv. 25, 26; xlix. 34—39, the latter of which prophecies is very remarkable, and reads thus:—

"The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts;

"Behold, I will break the bow of Elam,
The chief of their might.
And upon Elam will I bring the four winds
From the four quarters of heaven,
And will scatter them toward all those winds;
And there shall be no nation
Whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come.
For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies;
And before them that seek their life:
And I will bring evil upon them,
Even my fierce anger, saith the Lord;
And I will send the sword after them,
Till I have consumed them:
And I will set my throne in Elam,
And will destroy from thence
The king and the princes, saith the Lord.
But it shall come to pass in the latter days,
That I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord."

"Here" says a modern writer,* "the dispersion of the Elamites is foretold, and their eventual restoration. But who are these outcasts, and when is their restoration to be dated?" It is a question too difficult for solution, but it is certain that it does not refer to the Persians. This will be manifest upon a review of its confirmation by the prophet Ezekiel. That prophet, enumerating the various nations conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, as, the Egyptians with Pharaoh-Hophra, or Apries, Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude, Edom with her kings and princes, the princes of the north and the Sidonians, says of Elam:—

"There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave,
All of them slain, fallen by the sword,

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* See the "Captivity of the Jews," published by the Religious Tract Society

Which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth,
Which caused their terror in the land of the living;
Yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.
They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain
With all her multitude: her graves are round about him:
All of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword;
Though their terror was caused in the land of the living,
Yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit:
He is put in the midst of them that be slain."

Ezek. xxxii. 24, 25.

Now, the former of these nations was conquered by the united forces of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares. Elam, therefore, was either a province of the Assyrian empire, and, therefore, also became the prey of the conquerors, or it was an independent kingdom, which fell before these conquerors, and became a province of Media, in conformity with Jeremiah's prediction. But the passage in Ezekiel does not harmonize with Xenophon's account of the Persians before the days of Cyrus, nor with that of Herodotus, who represents Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, though descended from an ancient Persian family, as inferior to a Mede of the middle rank. Then again, by Daniel the prophet, Shushan the palace, and the river Ulai, are placed in the province of Elam; or in other words, in Susiana. And in the Acts of the Apostles, the Elamites are mentioned along with the Parthians, Medes, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, (chap. ii. 9,) in a sense which conveys the idea that they dwelt to the west of the Medes. It would, perhaps, be safer, therefore, to understand by Elam, not Persia, but the province of Elymais, which extended to the south and south-east of Ecbatana, as far as Susiana, or the whole mountainous region of south-western Media, of which Corbienno, or the Carbiana of Strabo, now called Khorremabad, was the capital. Strabo makes Massabatica, Gabiana, and Cyrbiana provinces of the Elymeans, and conjoins Elymais with Susiana on the north and northwest. He also says that Elymais was joined to Media, and was a very mountainous country, and that the Elymeans were great robbers. This description agrees with the mountaineers of the modern Looristaun, in the south of Media, and harmonizes with sacred history, which represents Chedorlaomer the Elamite, making a predatory inroad, with other rulers, as robbers, as early as the patriarchal era. According to Pliny, Elymais was inhabited by the Uxii, Mizæi, Parthusi, Mardi, Saitæ, Hyi, Cossæi, Paraetaceni, and Messabatæ. The Cossæi here are represented as inhabiting part of Media, but by

the ancients, generally, they were considered as a people of Media. The Messabatæ, also, inhabited the district of Mesobatene, which is a Greek appellation, meaning the midland country, or tract between Media and Susiana, and which is probably derived from the Chaldee Misa, or middle.

The facts respecting Elymais and the Elymeans appear to be these: that a number of tribes were included together under that denomination, as being either the principal tribe that gave name to the tract so called, or that they were collectively thus denominated, and that it (Elymais) included the whole south-west part of the modern Irac Ajemi, bounded by the alluvial district Susiana on the south, and comprehending all the mountain ranges, called the Looristan and Bactiari mountains, a tract almost unknown to Europeans, and terminated by Fars or Persia on the south-east. The terms Elymais and Elymeans, do not occur in the writings of ancient historians till after the Macedonian conquest, when they are spoken of as an independent and ferocious nation, neither subject to the Syro-Macedonians, nor the Parthians, and altogether distinct from the Persians properly so termed.

Persia proper was bounded on the north and north-west by Media or Irak Ajemi; on the south by the Persian Gulf; on the east by Carmania or Kerman; and on the west by Susiana or Khusistan. The extent of this country, according to Chardin's estimate, is as large as France: this, however, forms but a small portion of what is now denominated Persia.

This extent of country contained the tribes of the Persæ, Pasagardæ, Arteatæ, Maraphii, and Maspians. Of these the Pasagardæ were the noblest, and to the chief clan of which, called the Achæmenidæ, the royal family of Persia belonged. In addition to these tribes, Herodotus mentions three agricultural tribes, called the Panthialæ, Derusiæ, and Germanii; and four nomadic tribes, denominated the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sangartii. The Persæ and Pasagardæ inhabited the middle part, or what Strabo has happily denominated Cava, or Hollow Persia, corresponding to the vale of Istaker, and the celebrated plain of Shiraz. It is not known what part the Arteatæ inhabited, but the agricultural tribes probably inhabited the quarter near Kerman or Carmania; the others were mountain tribes.

Such was Persia proper: the empire of Persia, as before stated, was of far greater limits. How great it was will be seen in the following masterly geographical arrangement of the Western, Middle, and Eastern provinces of the empire,

by Major Rennell, who compiled it from a curious original document, furnished by Herodotus. In it will be discerned, also, the annual revenue of this once potent empire, an empire that was master of almost all the then known world.

I. WESTERN PROVINCES.

S. Talents.

1. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans,* and Pamphylians . . †400

These occupied an extent of 450 geographical miles of sea coast in Asia Minor, from the Gulf of Adramyttium, and the Troade, on the north, round by Cnidus to Cilicia on the east.

2. The Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians 500

The greatness of the tribute paid by this, the smallest of the twenty satrapies, was the result of the gold and silver mines of Lydia, and the gold sands of the river Pactolus. The riches of Crœsus were proverbial.

3. On the east side of the Hellespont, the Phrygians and the Thracians of Asia, the Paphlagonians, Maryandinians,‡ and Syrians, or Cappadocians . . . 360

4. The Cilicians 500

These four provinces composed the whole of Asia Minor.

5. Phenicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus; from the city of Posidæum, on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, as far as Mount Casius and the Sirbonic Lake, bordering on Egypt 350

6. Egypt, and the Africans, bordering on Egypt, as far as Cyrene and Barcæ 700

* These people were probably the same with the Milyans, of whom Herodotus speaks. Sometimes they were called Minyans, from Minos, king of Crete.

† Reckoning each talent at 193*l.* 15*s.* See p. 14.

‡ These people lived on the coast of Bithynia, where was said to be the Achcrusian cave, through which Hercules dragged Cerberus up to the light, whose foam then produced aconite.

"That sacred plain, where as the fable tells,
The growling dog of Pluto, struggling hard
Against the grasp of mighty Hercules,
With dropping foam impregnating the earth,
Produced a poison to destroy mankind."—
Dionysius Periegetes.

S. Talents.

This tribute was exclusive of the produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris, amounting to 240 talents per annum, which was a perquisite to the queen of Persia, says Diodorus, for dress and perfumes; and also of 700 talents, for the value of Egyptian corn, to supply 120,000 Persian and auxiliary troops, in garrison at Memphis, etc.

7. [0.*] Babylon, including Assyria Proper, and Mesopotamia 1000

This was one of the most extensive, as it was the richest of the provinces of the empire. Before the time of Cyrus, it was reckoned, in point of revenue, equal to the third part of Asia.

8. Susa, and Susiana, or Chusistan 300

Next to the Lydian satrapy, this was the smallest of the whole; but it contained Susa, at that time the capital of the empire, where the king's treasures were deposited.

II. CENTRAL PROVINCES.

9. [10.] Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes 450

Media Proper occupies the midland and elevated tract between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. It was then the central part of the great Persian empire, and from climate, verdure, and richness of soil, the most beautiful of its provinces. It is now the most western province of modern Persia, Mount Zagros forming the common boundary between Persia and Turkey. Ispahan, the present capital, is situate in the north-east corner of ancient Media.

10. [11.] The Caspians, Pausicæ, Pantimithi, and Daritæ, (including Hyrcania) 200

11. [18.] The Matieni, Saspirians, and Alarodians . 200

The Saspirians occupied the eastern part of Armenia.

12. [13.] Pactyica, the Armenians, etc. 400

The Armenia of Herodotus extended westward to the Euphrates, and southward to Mount Masius in Mesopotamia, including the sources of the Euphrates northwards, and Mount Ararat eastwards. This province, though mountainous, abounded in mines of gold and sil-

* The numbers included in the brackets were the original numbers of Herodotus.

S. Talents.

ver, copper and iron, at Argana and Kebban, which will account for its high tribute.

13. [19.] The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynæci, and Mardians 300

This satrapy is a narrow strip of land, between the Armenian mountains of Caucasus and the Euxine Sea. It abounds in iron mines.

III. EASTERN PROVINCES.

14. The Sangartians, Sarangæns, (of Sigistan,) the Thamanœans, Utians, and Mencians, (of Carmania,) with the islands of the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, to which the king banished state offenders 600

The intermediate country of Persia proper, whose principal tribes were the Arteatæ, Persæ, Pasagardæ, Maraphii, and Maspians, were not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but only presented a regular gratuity.

15. [16.] The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians 300

These occupied the mountainous tract between Hyrcania, Margiana, Asia, and the desert of Chorasmia.

16. [7.] The Sattagydians, the Gandarii, Dadicæ, and Assartyæ of Margiana 170

17. [12.] The Bactrians, as far as Aglos 360

Or from Balk to Khilan or Ghilan.

18. [15.] The Sacæ and Caspii, (or, rather, Casians of Kashgur) 250

19. [17.] The Paricanii, and long-haired Ethiopians of Asia 400

These were the Oritæ of Alexander and Nearchus, and inhabited Haur, Makran, and other provinces in the south-east angle of Persia towards India.

The sum total 7740

20. The Indians.

These inhabited the extensive provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, and Scindia, west of the Indus, and the Panjab, that rich stripe of coast east of the Indus. They paid (600) 360 talents in gold ingots, differing, in this respect, from the other satrapies, whose payments were in silver talents.

Such was the extent of the empire of ancient Persia, which is now no more. It spread terror to, and worked desolation

in the nations around; but those who wielded its power have long since mouldered in the grave.

Concerning the financial statement in the foregoing extract, Dr. Hales remarks after Herodotus: "If the standard of the Babylonian talent, in which the tribute from the first nineteen provinces was paid, be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the amount will be 9880 silver talents. And if the tribute from the Indians, of 360 gold talents, be estimated at thirteen times the value of the silver, it will amount to 4680 Euboic talents more. So that the sum total of the tribute paid to Darius was 14,560 Euboic talents."

This number of talents, reckoning with Arbuthnot, the Euboic or Attic talent at 193*l.* 15*s.*, would amount to 2,821,000*l.*, which was a very moderate sum for so extensive an empire. There were, however, a few minor tributes, both from these provinces and other nations, which Herodotus did not reckon: probably these might have made the sum total 3,000,000*l.* sterling, which is still a moderate sum compared with the revenues of modern states.

This leads to a review of the several provinces into which the country of Persia was anciently divided, as mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and other writers, and as marked on the best modern maps. Geographers, indeed, at the present day, from the frequent changes of the limits of the provinces of modern Persia, preserve the ancient division, though, in this respect, also, some changes have been introduced. In our notice of these provinces, much information concerning the condition they are now in, will be blended with that in which they once were.

GEDROSIA.

Gedrosia, or Mekran, including the district of the Oritæ, extends from the eastern range of the Brahooick mountains that separate it from Sinde to Cape Iask on the frontiers of Laristaun, or, from the sixty-eighth degree east longitude, to the fifty-eighth degree of the same, a space containing 120,000 miles. In the eastern part this province does not exceed 100 miles, it being separated between 62° and 66° E. longitude from the desert of Beloochistaun by the northern branch that projects from the Brahooick mountains in 28° N. latitude, called Wushutee, and, also, Much, or the Palm, as that tree grows in great abundance there. The northern extremity of the Kohistaun may be called a northern

inland projection of this province, reaching to 30° N. latitude. This northern district has the desert of Beloochistaun on the east, that of Keruran on the west, and the sandy waste of Bunpoor on the south-west. This seems to be the only sandy waste in Gedrosia, but it is of considerable extent. It is of an oval form, and is 155 miles long by eighty in its greatest breadth. The mountainous district of Bushkurd, to the east of Laristaun, is also of an oval form, being 110 miles long by eighty-five in its greatest breadth. There does not appear to be any rivers of note in Gedrosia: there are some torrents, deep and rapid in the rainy season, but almost all dry in summer.

Gedrosia may be divided into the coast and the interior; the former being a narrow tract, varying in breadth, and running the whole way to Cape Iask, in a wavering direction, but never receding further inland than 100 miles. This province is represented as very barren. Ptolemy places here a celebrated emporium, called, "The Haven of Women," which Arrian says was so called because it was first governed by a woman. He also mentions two islands dependent on this province, Astea and Codane.

CARMANIA.

Carmania, now Kerman, occupies the south-eastern part of Persia, extending along the Persian Gulf, from Cape Iask to a place opposite the island of Kishm, and thence northward to the borders of the desert, of which the adjacent southern part is considered as included in this province, and is denominated Kerman, or Carmania the Desert. This part of the province is sandy, and impregnated with salt, being occasionally intersected by short ridges. The remainder of this province, extending more than 200 miles from south to north, but less from east to west, is nearly unknown, except the tract along the shores of the Gulf, and another tract in the interior, between 29° and 30° N. latitude. That part of the coast east of 57° E. longitude, which lies along the narrow entrance of the Gulf, is extremely mountainous, and the rocks approach the sea, where they form a lofty coast. The valleys among these mountains are well watered, and afford fine pasturage for the flocks. They contain also fine plantations of date and other fruit trees. This is more especially the case where the coast runs south and north, between the modern towns of Sereek and Minab, or Minaw. Between

these two places, the mountains recede from the shores, and thus a plain is formed, which, for its fertility, is termed by the natives the Paradise of Persia. The mountains then run northward, and form as it were a large gulf, receding above fifty miles from the sea, and then returning to it to the north of Bunder Abassi, or Gombroon. The plain thus formed resembles the sandy tracts called Gurmsir, being sterile, and producing nothing except dates. That portion of the interior of Kerman which has been visited by modern travellers comprehends the Nurmanshur, a district about ninety miles in length, and from twenty to thirty miles wide, in which are extensive cultivated grounds, and comparatively small sterile tracts. Two mountain ranges enclose this district on the south and the north, the former of which is of considerable elevation, and covered with snow during the greater part of the year. Between the Nurmanshur and the town of Kerman is a desert, with a few oases of moderate extent: about the town itself there is a large tract of fertile country. West of the town, reaching to the boundary of Farsistan, there are numerous rocky ridges with difficult passes, but they are surrounded with much cultivated ground. In the unknown country, between Kerman and the harbour of Gombroon, and on the road connecting these two towns, there is said to be a large place called Sultan-abad. In the more cultivated parts of Kerman there are several rivers, particularly the Andanis, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. According to the accounts of the ancients, its mountains have mines of copper and iron. Pomponius Mela said that the province of Carminia did not sustain any cattle; at the present day, however, it is remarkable for producing sheep which bear some of the finest wool in the world.

Dependent on this province is the small, but famous island of Ormez, which lies at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, near 27° N. latitude, and 56° 30 E. longitude. The form of this island is nearly circular, and its appearance from the sea is broken and rugged. The whole is a mere barren rock, without the slightest trace of vegetation. The surface exhibits the singular stratification of the island; and the conical shape and isolated position of the various small hills of which the island consists would convey the idea that it owes its origin to volcanic agency. The hills along the eastern shores of the island are covered from their base upward with an incrustation of salt, in some places transparent as ice. In other places, the surface is covered with a thin layer of dusky red-

coloured earth, which owes its colour to the oxide of iron with which the entire surface of the island is impregnated. The very sand on the sea-shore is composed of the finest particles of iron pulverized by the waves. The island contains no fresh water springs, to remedy which, the inhabitants use tanks to collect the rain water as it distils from the clouds. Tavernier says that the air in summer was so sultry that the inhabitants were forced to live in grots and lie in water. Anciently, it seems only to have served as a place of retreat to the inhabitants of the adjacent shores in times of invasion or civil commotion. At the present day, there is a fortress garrisoned by 100 men, under the direction of the imam of Muskat, who farms the island from the king of Persia. His revenues are derived from the salt, which he exports in large quantities. The fortress is situated about 300 yards from the shore, on a projecting point of land, separate from the island by a moat.

DRANGIANA.

This province, in the days of its prosperity, was one of the richest inland tracts in the whole Persian empire, being a vast hollow space, surrounded by mountains and hills; having on the east those of Arachosia; on the north, the mountains and tracts of Sebwar—probably the Mons Bagous of Ptolemy—in the ancient Aria; on the south, a district of ancient Gedrosia, now the eastern part of Kerman, from which it is parted by a chain of lofty mountains, covered with perpetual snow, and which is denominated by Ptolemy Montes Becii; on the west, it has the great desert of Kerman. In the centre of this alluvial hollow is the celebrated lake of Durrah, which in the Persian books is sometimes called the sea of Loukh, and by the inhabitants, the sea of Zoor, or Khanjek. According to Elphinstone, this lake is 150 miles in circuit, but Rennell and other geographers make it 100 miles long, and twenty broad. In its centre stands an insulated hill, called the Cohee Zoor, which tradition declares to have been anciently a fort, and which, as it is steep and lofty, and surrounded by a ditch of great depth, is still a place of refuge for some of the inhabitants of the opposite shores.

The edges of the lake of Durrah are for a considerable breadth choked with rushes and reeds. The shores, also, are overgrown with this kind of vegetation; and being liable to inundation, they are full of miry places and pools of standing water. Immediately beyond these woods of reeds and rushes,

the country produces grass, and grain, and tamarisks. The same may be said of the narrow valley through which the Helmund flows. The rest of the country is now almost a desert, affording only forage for camels, and here and there a well for the wandering Belochees, who tend these animals. For the most part, this country is surrounded by wide and dismal deserts, whence every wind brings clouds of a light shifting sand, which destroys the fertility of the fields, and gradually overwhelms the villages. From this cause, the once rich and alluvial tract of Drangiana, which comprehended a surface double that of ancient Susiana, is reduced to a small compass; and it may be asserted that in process of time the lake will be dried up, and the whole of Drangiana be merged in the growing desert.

This province, which was denominated Drangiana by Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo; Drangini, and its inhabitants, Drangi, by Diodorus Siculus; was called Zarang, and its inhabitants Sarangæns, by Herodotus, in his account of the Persian Satrapies. Subsequently it was called Nimrooze, and it is now called Sigistan, a term derived from the Sacæ, as Sacastana signifies the region of the Sacæ, who possessed it about the time when the Scythians passed the Jaxares and the Oxus, and overthrew the Greek empire of Bactria, about 150 years B. C.

ARACHOSIA.

Respecting the position of this province, little is known, except that it lay to the south of Candahan, and the valley of the Urghundaub, and the Turung, or Turnuk; it is impossible, therefore, to say what were its physical or political limits. The accounts of ancient writers on this subject, and the researches of modern geographers, are alike meagre, vain, and unsatisfactory.

PAROPAMISUS.

The Paropamisus, Parapamisus, Parapanisus, and Paropanisus of the ancients, is the Paropanis of the Sanscrit; signifying the mountain of springs, or rills, compounded of Pahar, a hill, and Panir, or Pan, water. The province took its name from these mountains, by which it was bounded.

According to Ptolemy, the province of Paropamisus extended east from Aria or Heraut, to the Indus, having Ara-

chosia to the south. The ancients, indeed, generally extended Persia to the Indus, and made the provinces of Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia extend in a meridional line along the western bank of that stream. Paropamisus was bounded north by Bactria, and on the east by the dominions of the Mogul. Ancient writers relate, that when Alexander passed this country in his celebrated march, he found the country for the most part open and plain, destitute of trees, and covered with snow, from the reflection of which the Macedonians were exposed to great inconvenience, it grievously affecting their eyes; many of them, it is also said, perished from excessive cold, which seized those who walked slowly, or ventured to sit down to rest. This description accords with the elevated upland of Ghazna, to which Rennell in his map conducts the conqueror. Elphinstone says of this climate, "Ascending the valley of the Turnuk from Candahar, the cold increases at every stage, and the heat of the summer diminishes in the same proportion. Even at Kelauti Ghiljee snow falls often and lies long, and the Turnuk is often frozen so as to bear a man. Now this place is in N. lat. 30° 30′, and Kelautee is in the lowest part of the valley of the Turnuk. In the high tract south of that valley, the cold appears to be as great as in any part of Afghanistaun. At Kelaue Abdorrchem the snow lies four months annually, and all that time the rivers are frozen, so as to bear a man. Ascending still higher, we at last reach the level of Guznee, or Ghazna, which is generally mentioned as the coldest part of the plain country in the Caubul dominions. The cold of Ghuznee is spoken of as excessive, even by the inhabitants of the cold countries in its vicinity. For the greatest part of the winter, the people seldom quit their houses; and even in the city of Ghuznee the snow has been known to lie deep for some time after the vernal equinox. Tradition prevails of the city having been twice destroyed by falls of snow, in which all the people were buried."

HYRCANIA.

Hyrcania, now called Mazanderan, comprehends the largest and widest portion of the low plain along the shores of the Caspian Sea. It is one of the most fertile provinces of the Persian empire, whether the mountains or the plains are considered. Travellers passing through the forests of Mazanderan, pass through thickets of sweetbriar and honey

suckle; and are surrounded with acacias, oaks, lindens, and chesnut trees. The summits of the mountains are crowned with cedars, cypresses, and various species of pines. So beautiful is this district, that in the hyperbolical language of the orientals it is styled, *Belad-al-Irem*, or the land of the Terrestrial Paradise. Sir W. Ouseley relates, that Kaikus, the Persian king, was fired with ambition to conquer so fine a country, through the influence of a minstrel, who exhausted all his powers of music and poetry in the praise of its beauties: his strains read thus:—

"Let the king consider the delights of Mazanderan, and may that country flourish during all eternity; for in its gardens roses ever blow, and even its mountains are covered with hyacinths and tulips. Its land abounds in all the beauties of nature; its climate is salubrious and temperate, neither too warm nor too cold; it is a region of perpetual spring: there, in shady bowers, the nightingale ever sings; there the fawn and antelope incessantly wander among the valleys; every spot, throughout the whole year, is embellished and perfumed with flowers; the very brooks of that country seem to be rivulets of rose water, so much does this exquisite fragrance delight the soul. During the winter months, as at all other seasons, the ground is enamelled, and banks of murmuring streams smile with variegated flowers; every where the pleasures of the chase may be enjoyed; all places abound with money, fine stuffs for garments, and every other article necessary for comfort or luxury. There all the attendants are lovely damsels, wearing golden coronets; and all the men illustrious warriors, whose girdles are studded with gold; and nothing but a wilful perversity of mind, or corporeal infirmity, can hinder a person from being cheerful and happy in Mazanderan."

Such were the delights the oriental poet held out to his rulers in Mazanderan, in all the force of oriental exaggeration. The province of Hyrcania or Mazanderan was doubtless a delightful province; but there appear to have been some drawbacks upon its loveliness. Strictly speaking, Hyrcania comprehended the small tract denominated Gurgan in ancient Persia, which signifies, the land of wolves, from the superabundance of these animals. From this word D'Anville supposes the Greeks to have formed the name of Hyrcania. Sir W. Ouseley states that on entering Mazanderan, he was informed that he would find a *babr*, tiger; a *guraz*, boar; *rubah*, foxes; *shegal*, jackals; and a *gurg*, or wolf. Accord-

ingly, the very first thing that he saw, on entering a village of Hyrcania, was the carcase of a large wolf, which had been shot just half an hour before his arrival, and which looked terrible in death, "grinning horribly a ghastly grin;" thus proving the truth of the poet, that, "every where the pleasures of the chase may be enjoyed," if such may be termed pleasures. In ancient times, Hyrcania was infested with panthers and tigers, so fierce and cruel, as to give rise to a proverb concerning fierce and unrelenting men, that they had sucked Hyrcanian tigers. The poet Virgil refers to this in his Æneid. Representing Dido chiding Æneas, he puts into her mouth these words:

> "False as thou art, and more than false, forsworn,
> Not sprung from noble blood, nor goddess born,
> But hewn from harden'd entrails of a rock!
> And rough Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck!"

Strabo, who extends Hyrcania as far north as the river Ochus, says from Aristobulus that Hyrcania was a woody region, producing oaks and pines, but not the pitch pine, which abounded in India. It has been mentioned as a curious circumstance, that in Mazanderan an axe used for cutting is called *tabr*. Now the Tapyri, or Tabari, inhabited a district in Hyrcania, and if this name be derived from *tabr*, an axe, it will signify hatchet men, or wood-cutters, a name very appropriate to the inhabitants of a country covered with forests like Hyrcania, and, though restricted by the Greeks to the western inhabitants of that province, is equally applicable to those of the eastern part. According to Sir W. Ouseley, the name of the part in which the Tabari lived, namely, Tabristan, or Tabaristan, signifies the country of wood.

According to Morier, Mazanderan is a modern Persian phrase, signifying, "Within the boundary or limit of the mountain." This is confirmed by Sir W. Ousely, who says, from Hamdallah, an eminent Persian geographer, that Mazanderan was originally named Mawz-anderan, or within the mountain Mawz. He says, "The Coh-Alburz is an immense mountain adjacent to Bab-al-abwab, (Derbend,) and many mountains are connected with Alburz; so that from Turkestan to Hejas, it forms a range extending in length 1000 farsangs, about 130 miles, more or less; and on this account some regard it as the mountain of Kaf, (Caucasus.) Its western side, connected with the mountains of Gurjestan, (Georgia,) is called the Coh Lagzi, (Daghestan,) and the *Sur a lakaeim*

relates, that in the Coh Lagzi there are various races of people; so that about seventy different languages or dialects are used among them; and in that mountain are many wonderful objects; and when it reaches Shemshat and Malatiah, (Samosata Melitene,) it is called Kali Kala. At Antakia and Sakeliah, (Antioch and Seleucia,) it is called Lekam; there it divides Sham (Syria) from Rome. (Asia Minor.) When it reaches between Hems (Emasa) and Demishk, (Damascus,) it is called Lebnan, (Lebanon,) and near Mecca and Medina it is called Arish. Its eastern side, connected with the mountains of Arran (Eastern Armenia) and Aderbijan, it is called Keik, and when it reaches to Ghilan, (the Gelae and Cadusians,) and Irak, (Media,) it takes the name of Terkel-diz-cuh; it is called Mauz when it reaches Kurnish and Mazanderan; and originally Mazanderan was named Mawz-enderan; and when Alburz reaches Khorassan, it is called Lurry." From this it appears that Mazanderan signifies all the region within the mountain Mawz and the Caspian Sea, which lies east of Ghilan and the Kizil Ozan.

Unlike the rest of Persia, Mazanderan is watered by numerous rivers, or mountain torrents, all running from the mountains to the sea. The German traveller Gmelin, who visited this country A. D. 1771, says that in the space of eight miles, on the road from Resht to Amot, 250 of such streams are to be seen, many of them being so exceedingly broad and deep, that the passage across is sometimes impracticable for weeks together. In this respect Mazanderan furnishes a striking contrast to the waste and barren shores of southern Persia, where for many hundred miles there is not a stream to be met with deep enough to take a horse above the knee. Hence arises the fertility of Mazanderan. So mild and humid, indeed, is the climate of Mazanderan, that it permits the growth of the sugar cane, and the production of good sugar, and that in perfection four months earlier than in the West Indies. From the lack of art and care, however, this gift of nature is not turned to account by the inhabitants of that province.

BACTRIANA.

The province of Bactriana comprehended what is now called Eastern Persia, or Khorassan, in addition to the country beyond the Paropamisus. Khorassan, or "the rising sun," extends over a large part of the great desert, and nearly

the whole of the mountainous region north of it. According to the Persian geographers, it once comprehended the whole of northern Persia, as far as the neighbourhood of the Indus; that is, nearly the whole of the country subject to the King of Afghanistan. At the present time, its eastern boundary lies near 62° east longitude; and even the town of Herat is subject to the Afghans, who, however, acknowledge that it belongs to Persia, and annually send a present to Teheran in token of this acknowledgment. In that portion of the desert which lies between Herat and Yezd, many oases occur, some of which are of considerable extent, and contain large towns. The wide valleys which lie between the desert and the declivities that form the descent between the table-land of Iran to the low sandy plains of Turan, possess a considerable degree of fertility. This is proved by the existence of numerous and populous villages, which are frequently ravaged by the Turkomans and Kurds. The latter people are settled in a very wide and fertile valley, extending from the town of Mushed in a north-western direction for more than 100 miles, for the purpose of protecting the country against the invasion of the Turkomans; but notwithstanding this, they frequently themselves lay waste the most fertile portion of Khorassan. The vicinity of Herat supplies assafœtida, saffron, pistachio nuts, mastic, manna, a gum called *birzund*, a yellow dye called *ispiruck*, and carroway seeds. The wide and fertile valley which runs from Mushed northwards, and which is in possession of the Kurds, is also well cultivated, and contains some places of note. Westward of Mushed, near Nishapoor, is the celebrated fortress of *Kelat Nadiree*, "the fortress of Nadir." This fortress is situated, according to Frazer, in a valley from fifty to sixty miles in length, by twelve or fifteen in breadth, surrounded by mountains so steep that a little assistance from art has rendered them impassable; the rocks being scarped into the form of a gigantic wall. A small river runs through this valley, and the only points of access occur where the stream leaves it, and these are fortified by towers and walls. which form no mean barrier.

ARIA.

Aria is the modern Heraut, sometimes pronounced without the aspirate. This province lay to the east of Parthia and the desert of Kerman, to the north of Drangiana, to the south

of the western prolongation of the Paropamisan range, called the mountains of Saraphi by Ptolemy, and to the west of the province of Paropamisus. This province is sometimes called Ariana, but whether this latter name included more than the province of Aria is by no means agreed among geographers. The situation of Aria corresponds to that of the modern Sejestan, and the southern part of Khorassan. Strabo calls this province and Margiana, the best in the whole country. They are, he says, watered by the rivers Arios and Margos; the former of which is described by Arrian as a river not less than the Peneios of Thessalia, yet losing itself in the ground, and which answers to the present Heri-Rud. Strabo also remarks that Aria is about 160 miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth; but this can only be understood as applying to the principal part of the province, or probably the valley of the river Arios, which seems to have been early celebrated for its fertility. In this plain Heraut is situated, and captain Grant, who spent a month there in 1810, describes it as watered by an ample stream, as covered with villages, and as teeming with corn. "The rich landscape," he says, "receives additional beauty and variety from the numerous mosques, tombs, and other edifices by which it is embellished, and the mountain slopes by which it is surrounded." The country of Aria is not mentioned by Herodotus, but he enumerates the Arii with others, as constituting the sixteenth satrapy into which Darius divided the Persian empire. See page 13.

PARTHIA.

It is difficult to define the boundaries of Parthia proper, as they differed at various times. In the days of Strabo, however, it extended on the west as far as Rhagæ and the Tapuri, to the Caspian passes, and included the districts of Komisene (Kumis) and Choarene (Khuar.) According to Pliny, it was bounded on the east by the Arii, on the south by the Carmanii and Ariani, on the west by the Pratitæ Medi, and on the north by the Hyrcanii. In this latter statement Ptolemy agrees. But the original Parthia, as described by Herodotus, was much less than that described by Pliny and Ptolemy. It contained, indeed, nothing more than the mountainous tract that lay south of Chorasmia and Margiana, east of Hyrcania, and north of the districts of Meschid and Naisabour. Afterwards it included the district of Comisene, men-

tioned by Ptolemy, in which district Hecatompylos, its capital, was built, and which is supposed to be the modern Damghan. Nasroddin-al-Tossi, and other Persian writers as cited by Golius in his notes on Al-Fargan, state, that this is a vast plain encompassed by mountains, and watered by a multitude of brooks of clear salubrious water, which issue from these mountains. These streams were called the waters of Khosru, because that monarch caused them to be conveyed by aqueducts into the city, and would drink no other water in any part of his empire. In the orchards and gardens of Damghan apples are produced, which, from their beauty, size, fragrance, and taste, were placed on the tables of the Parthian sovereigns.

It is supposed by some writers that the ancient Parthia corresponds to the modern Irak Ajemi. But this is erroneous. Irak Ajemi corresponds to the ancient Media Magna, and is at present the most western province of the Persian empire, Aderbigan and Persian Armenia excepted. It is a larger province than the ancient Parthia, occupying the middle space between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Orosius says that the Media of Scripture was that country generally called Parthia.

PERSIS.

This province, which is the modern Fars or Farsistan, comprehends almost one half of the Dushtistan, or "stony district," a low, hot, sandy strip extending along the shores of the Persian Gulf, the northern portion of the mountain region of Faristan and Kerman, and the hilly plain which extends north-east to the lake of Bakhtegan and the great desert. According to Ptolemy, it was anciently bounded on the north by Media, on the west by Susiana, and on the south by the Persian Gulf, now called Phars. The mountain ranges, which separate the table-land of Iran from the Persian Gulf, are little more than thirty or forty miles wide, but they are exceedingly steep towards the sea. Between Kazerun and Shiraz, the Kotuls Dokhter and Pirazun are to be traversed; for though Kazerun is situated on this table-land, several ridges of considerable elevation intervene, especially in the northern districts. That portion of the table-land which lies southward is less mountainous, and contains several salt lakes. For the most part, this province, though containing many well-cultivated districts, is nearly a desert, especially towards the north. Near the boundary line of Khusistan is

an extensive and highly-cultivated plain. Ainsworth says of the plain of Shiraz, that it is chiefly formed of silt and mud, deposited by waters of inundation.

SUSIANA.

This province was bounded on the north by Assyria, on the west by Chaldea, on the east by Persia, and on the south by the Persian Gulf. Thus defined, Susiana nearly corresponds with the modern Khuzistan, which comprehends the southern part of the mountains of Kurdistan, and that part of the plain of the Tigris belonging to Persia, and which is, therefore, naturally divided into two portions. The plain, which is in the possession of the wandering Arab, contains good pasturage in the northern and western districts, on which the Bedouin feeds his cattle. The southern and eastern portion of the district is a sandy desert, occasionally intersected by extensive morasses, and only cultivated in some places on the banks of the rivers, where rice, wheat, and barley are raised. There are also some plantations of date trees. The mountainous part of the country contains several plains and extensive valleys, among which the valley of Ram Hormuz, which is forty miles long, and from six to eight miles in breadth, is distinguished for its fertility and picturesque beauty. All these valleys and plains are fertile, but they are only partially cultivated. Between the higher ranges of the mountains and the level plain there is a hilly tract several miles wide, which contains the most fertile soil in the province; only the borders of the river, however, are under cultivation. The high mountain ranges in the eastern part of Khuzistan are in the possession of Lurish tribes, which cultivate the ground very extensively, growing large quantities of tobacco.

There were two other provinces of ancient Persia, namely, Curdistan and Schirwan; but as the former corresponds to the ancient Assyria, and the latter to Media, the reader is referred to those histories for their geographical details.

MOUNTAINS.

There is no country more mountainous than that of Persia. From the one end of it to the other, these stupendous monuments of the omnipotence of Jehovah point their summits to-

ward the skies. Some of these have passed under notice in the description of the several provinces; for the rest we refer the reader to the map, whereon they are distinctly delineated. It will be sufficient to state here, that many of them are situated on the frontiers, and serve as natural ramparts to this vast region, and that it is very probable they may contribute in the interior to make the country wholesome, by sheltering the valleys under them from excessive heat. At the same time, they are far from being advantageous; for many of them yield neither springs of water nor metals, and but a few are shaded with trees. Besides, they make travelling a most laborious and difficult task. This may be seen by the following passage from Pottinger's Journal, which refers to a branch of the Brahooick mountains. "Being unprovided with a barometer," he says, "or other instrument calculated to mark the perpendicular height of Kelat, as the most elevated spot of the Brahooick mountains, it is only by a comparison of facts that I am prepared to offer my sentiments on this head.

"Although the obliquity be not visible in the immediate vicinity of that capital, yet to the southward we found a very marked one in places amounting to steep defiles and hills for a day's journey at a time, (after ascending the Kohunwat, or southern pass from Luz to Kelat, passing by Khosdar and Soheraub,) until we reached Rodinjo, twenty-five miles south of Kelat. Hence to Gurruck, seven miles north of Kelat, the slope is undistinguishable. But in travelling from Gurruck, to Nooshky north-west, we crossed six lofty lukhs, or passes, whose descent to the northward was invariably double, and, on one or two occasions, fourfold the ascent on the southern face. The accumulated differences of these alone would be equal to a very great declension; and yet after we had got to the bottom of them, and came in sight of the great sandy desert, we found ourselves prodigiously elevated above its surface, and a seventh lukh, or pass, remained to be descended, the declivity of which was apparently double to that of all the others. Even then we were on an elevated plain, (when arrived at the foot of this last pass,) the waters of which, when augmented by the rains or melted snows amongst the neighbouring mountains, escape towards the sea by various outlets in the province of Mekran (the ancient Gedrosia) with excessive velocity. The temperature of Kelat, also, serves to prove its amazing elevation. That city, and the neighbouring district, though scarcely more than five degrees and a half re-

moved from the summer solstice, or the torrid zone, are subjected to a most rigorous winter, and snow lies, even in the vales, from the end of November till the beginning of February. Snow has been known to fall fifteen days successively in the month of March at this place. Rice, and other vegetable productions that require warmth of climate, will not thrive here; and wheat and barley do not ripen so soon as in the British isles. From a philosophical estimation of all these concurrent particulars, it is inferible that the extreme altitude of the Brahooick mountains is not inferior to that of some ranges esteemed the highest in Europe. Recent discoveries teach us to look to Asia as the seat of the most sublime and stupendous piles on the face of the globe. Judging from the eye of the lukh, or pass, nearest the sandy desert, and comparing its apparent altitude, length, and steepness, with some of the ghauts, or passes of India, of whose ascertained height I am apprised, I should pronounce its height to be 5000 feet above the sandy desert. If we add to this one half for the other six passes between that spot and the city of Kelat, and grant the desert, as the base of the whole, to be elevated of itself 500 feet above the level of the sea, it will produce an aggregate of 8000 feet." From this the reader will gather an idea of the great altitude of Persia. Pottinger says that it is here 8000 feet, but there are other geographers who think his estimate too low, and add 2000 more, making it 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. Nor does this appear to be exaggeration, for 500 feet of descent, at least, should be allowed for each of the six passes, and that number is by far too low an estimate for the level of the desert.

Another passage from Pottinger's Journal offers itself as still more illustrative of the mountainous features of Persia. "After quitting Gurruck," says he, "seven miles north-west of Kelat, our road lay through a mountainous and barren country, and we ascended two lukhs, or defiles, one of them particularly hazardous, the rugged path, not exceeding two feet wide, and, on the left, an abyss at least a quarter of a mile deep. Next day, we passed a miserable night from the cold, which was so intense, that, unprovided as we were with warm clothing or beds, it was impossible to sleep; and we were unable to make the least attempt to move, until nine o'clock, when the sunbeams began to operate, and, literally speaking, renovated us. We then mounted, and by five o'clock had proceeded thirty-one miles, the intermediate country being, if possible, more bleak and barren than that we had passed yes-

terday, and the path equally winding. We had several lukhs, or passes, to surmount, the last of which I conceive worthy of a minute detail, as it would seem, from its situation, on the edge of the desert, to have been intended by nature as an insurmountable barrier to these elevated regions, and it is, beyond all comparison, the most difficult defile I have ever seen in any country. It is separated on the south-east side from Kelat, or from the other mountains, by a deep and narrow ravine, the sides of which are solid black rock, and nearly perpendicular. Emerging from this part by a rugged path, we ascended the south-west face of the pass, from the top of which the desert burst upon our view, extending as far as the eye could reach, with the resemblance of a smooth ocean, from the reflection of the sun on the sand. The emotions of my fellow-traveller and myself were, at this instant, of the most enviable nature. On descending the north-western side of the lukh, which cost us nearly five hours, it being eleven miles long, and extremely steep, we entered the bed of a river between the mountains, and on a level with their bases, which led us out into the desert by innumerable mazes. The last half hour of our route was through the bed of the river Kyser, which, though deep and rapid during the rains, is often quite dry in the hot months of May, June, and July. At this time, when we crossed it, it was from two to three feet deep, and six or seven yards across. The only shrubs we saw today were some scraggy bushes of the Farnesian mimosa, here called the babool tree, and in the river great quantities of tamarisk. One of the mountains which we crossed was literally studded with bulbous roots, similar to those of tulips, that were beginning to bud, whose fragrance, as I was assured, would, in another month, be perceptible to a great distance. The grass called by the natives kusheput, or desert grass, also abounds here, and is collected by the Brahooes, as winter food for their cattle. It grows in bunches, or tufts, with thick coarse stalks, leaves long and serrated, and is very sweet and nutritious. The camel-thorn, called by the Persian khare shootoor, is also to be seen here, but not so plentifully as in the lower tracts."

Ainsworth, speaking of the general geological features of the rocks in Persia, says: "The most remarkable feature in the rocks of Kurdistan is, the invariable compactness and hard texture of the limestone rocks; but this only obtains in the mountain districts; for, as the indurated limestone of Rum-Kalah, on Euphrates, becomes a soft chalk, with many

fossils, so the limestone of the westerly ranges of the Persian Apennines becomes, on the plain of Musul, soft, pliable, and redolent with the shells of Trachelopodous Mollusca, and Menomyairous, and Dimyairus Conchifera."

RIVERS.

Persia, it has been said, is subject to two great inconveniences, which more than counterbalance the excellence of its climate, and the fertility of its soil; namely, the want of trees and water. There is not a navigable river in the wide range of country between the Tigris and the Indus, and, in many parts, even a well is a rare and valuable possession. The table-land of Iran, with the mountain ranges which surround it on the north and south, is very sparingly watered. The southern mountain ranges are too bare and low to attract sufficient moisture to form perennial streams, except in a few places. The northern mountains give rise to a great number of water courses; but as soon as they enter the plain, the small volume of water which they pour down is absorbed in irrigation, and only a few streams reach the desert, where they are quickly lost in the dry and thirsty soil. It is only in the table-land of Azerbigan, and in the mountains of Kurdistan, that there is a good supply of water. The rivers of Ghilan and Mazanderan are very limited in their courses. The most considerable river in Azerbigan is the Sefi Rud, or White River, which is also known by the Turkish name of Kizil Ozien. This river rises within the mountains of Kurdistan, south of 36° N. lat., and traverses the most mountainous district of Azerbigan; running a circuitous course, first east-north-east for about one hundred miles, and then about the same distance northward. When near 37° 30′ N. lat., it breaks through the western chain of the mountains of Massula, and turns to the south-east for about eighty miles, draining the valley between the two ranges of the Massula mountains. At the western extremity of the Elburz range, it is joined by the river Shahrud, which drains the valleys in the western portion of the Elburz mountains, and flows onward about one hundred miles. After its junction with this river, the Kizil Ozien flows about thirty miles in the narrow valley separating the Elburz mountains from the Massula ranges on the east, and enters the plain of Ghilan, through which it passes to the Caspian sea. On the table-land of Azerbigan, the bed of the Kizil Ozien is generally many hundred feet, and some-

times a thousand feet below the adjacent country: hence its streams can nowhere be used for the purposes of irrigation. Besides this river, the Aji and the Jaghatu demand a passing notice. These rivers, each running about one hundred miles, fall into the lake of Urumiyeh. Both of them are extensively used in the irrigation of the valleys through which they flow, and also the plain of Urumiyeh. There are many rivers which drain the mountains of Kurdistan, and its numerous valleys. Three of these, the Diayalah, which joins the Tigris below Bagdad, the Kerkhah, which falls into the Shat-el-Arab, and the Karoon or Kuran, flowing into the same, run between two and four hundred miles. "The rivers," says Ainsworth, "which may be considered as forming the hydrographical basin of Khusistan are, the Kerah, the Ab-i-zal, the Kuran, the Jerahi, and the Indigan. These rivers, however, are, like most of the rivers of Persia, insignificant when compared with the Tigris, or Euphrates. They were but as pools of water, thinly scattered over the landscape."

To remedy this defect, as necessity is the mother of invention, extraordinary efforts were made in ancient times to irrigate the lands by artificial means. Wheels were so constructed as to draw up the water from such streams as lay nearest, and conveyed it over the fields: and an ingenious contrivance was formed of connecting successive wells by subterranean conduits, called khanats in Persia, and cauraizees in Affghanistan. Polybius says of such, as constructed in Media: "There are rivulets and springs underground; but no one except those that know the country can find them." But the frequent revolutions to which Persia has been subjected, have from time to time demolished these useful contrivances; and these water courses, of which there were not less than 15,000 in the inner district of Nishapoor, are now in a state of comparative neglect. Zoroaster's precepts to plant "useful trees," and to "convey water to the dry lands," have long been unheeded, though he annexed salvation to the pursuit. "He," says this founder of the Magian faith, "who sows the ground with care and diligence acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by repeating ten thousand prayers." This it was that inspired the ancient Persians, under the Sassanian dynasty, to perform these great works, the result of which was a flourishing state of agriculture, and great national prosperity, as recorded by Curtius, Ammianus, Marcellinus, and other ancient writers. But the Mohammedan faith, under which the Persians now live, inculcates far different

principles to these. Under its withering influence, the Persians, like other Mohammedans, are satisfied with what good things they find, and care not to labour for posterity. They look upon life, it has been said, as a great road, wherein men ought to be contented with such things as fall in their way. Reposing in carnal ease, they forget the duties of life: and hence it is, that the flourishing state of agriculture which once existed in Persia, is no where to be traced at the present day; so much depends, even in temporal matters, upon the principles of the religion a nation professes. Chardin thinks, that if the Turks were to inhabit this country, it would soon be more impoverished than it is; whereas, if the Armenians or Parsees were to become its masters, it would be restored to its ancient fertility.

The manner in which these subterraneous water courses were constructed, may be discerned in the following account which Elphinstone gives of those in Affghanistan, which are precisely the same as in Persia: "The next contrivance for obtaining water," he says, "is the sort of conduit which is called a cauraiz, or cahrees. It is known by the same name in Persia, but is there most frequently called a kaunat, or *khanat.* It is thus made:—The spot where the water is to issue must be always at the foot of a slope extending to a hill, and the ground must be examined, to ascertain whether there are springs, and in what direction they lie. When the spot is fixed, a very shallow well is sunk, and another of greater depth is made at some distance up the slope. A succession of wells is made in this manner, and connected by a subterraneous passage from well to well. The wells increase in depth as the ground ascends, but are so managed, that the passage which connects them, has a declivity towards the plain. Many springs are discovered during this process, but the workman stops them up, that they may not interrupt his operations, until he has finished the last well, when he opens the springs, and the water rushes through the channel, rises in the wells to the height of its source, and is poured out from the lowest into a water course, which conducts it over the fields. When the cauraiz, or conduit is completed, the wells are of no further use except to allow a man to descend occasionally to clear out the channel. The distance between the wells varies from ten yards to 100. It is usually about fifty. The dimensions of the channel are generally no more than necessary to allow the water to work, but some are much larger. I have heard of one near Subzewaur, in Persian

Khorassan, through which a horseman might ride with a lance over his shoulder. The number of wells, and, consequently, the length of the cauraiz, depend on the number of springs met with, as the chain is generally continued, either till water enough has been obtained, or till the wells become so deep as to render it inconvenient to proceed. I have heard of various lengths, from two miles to thirty-six, but I should suppose the usual length was under the shortest of these measures. It may be supposed that the expense of so laborious a structure must be great; but the rich are fond of laying out their money on these means of bringing waste land into cultivation, and it is by no means uncommon for the poor to associate to make a cauraiz, and to divide the land which it irrigates amongst them. Cauraizees are common in all the west of the country, and their numbers are on the increase. I know but of one on the east of the range of Solimaun, which is at Tuttore, in Damaun. They are in use over all Persia, as they have been in Toorkistaun; but they are now neglected in the latter country, even their name is not known in India."

LAKES.

The most considerable of the lakes of Persia is that of Urumiyeh, or Shahee, which is more than eighty miles long, and about twenty-six in extreme breadth. The water, in the deepest part, is four fathoms, but the average depth is only two fathoms. The shores of the lake shelve so gradually, that this depth is rarely attained within two miles of the land. The water is much salter than that of the ocean, and its specific gravity is such, that a vessel of 100 tons burden is said not to draw more than from three to four feet. A gale of wind, moreover, raises the waves only a few feet, and they subside into a calm as soon as the storm has passed. This lake receives many streams, but it has no outlet.

Besides the lake of Urumiyeh, there is another of great note, namely, that of Bakhtegan. By some geographers, the lake of Bakhtegan is confounded with the salt lake of Shiraz, whereas the western extremity of the Bakhtegan lake is full thirty-six miles north-east of the south-east extremity of that of Shiraz. The lake of Bakhtegan is the reservoir of all the streams of Hollow Persia, or those that irrigate the vales of Morgaub, Istaker, and Kurbal. At the present day, it is generally called Deria Niriz, or Lake of

Niriz: by ancient geographers it was called the lake of Bakhtegan, from a ruined village east of Kheir. Ebn Haukel says of it: "Among these is the lake of Bakhtegan. Into this flows the river Kur, which is near Hhekan, or Khefan, and it reaches nearly to Zahek in Kirman (Carmania.) The extent of this lake is twenty farsangs, nearly eight miles, in length; and the water of it is bitter, and on the borders are wild beasts of various kinds, such as lions, leopards, or tigers, and others; and the region of this lake, which belongs to the kuveh (district) of Istaker, (Persepolis,) comprises several villages." Hamdallah Mastowfi says, that in its vicinity are tracts of soil impregnated with salt; that its length is twelve, its breadth seven, and its circumference thirty-four farsangs. These accounts were written about A. D. 950. To the ancient writers the lake seems to have been unknown, for it is neither mentioned by Strabo nor Curtius, nor others who mention the expedition of Cyrus; nor is it spoken of by the Greek or Roman geographers. On this account it is marked on some of the maps of ancient countries as "unknown to the ancients." The same may be said of the lake of Shiraz, or, as it is called by Hamdallah Cazvini, Mahluiah. This latter lake, it may be added, extends to within six miles south-east of Shiraz, being from twenty to twenty-five miles long, and twelve parasangs, or nearly forty-eight miles in circumference.

CLIMATE.

As might be expected, in so vast an extent of country as Persia, the climate is very varied: some parts, indeed, are wintry cold, while others are parched with heat at the same time of the year. The plain of Ghilan and Mazanderan posesses a climate peculiar to itself. This arises from the circumstances that it is below the sea level; that it has a vast expanse of water to the north; and that it is enclosed on the south by a high range of mountains. The plain has a rainy and dry season. In the month of September, heavy gales commence, which impel the clouds against the mountain wall of Elburz, and the rain descends in torrents, accompanied by appalling thunder-storms. The rain continues in the plain to the middle of January, but on the slopes of the mountains it is converted into snow about the beginning of November, and the quantity that falls is enormous. It is said to rise in many places from one to two fathoms, and to carry away

houses and even villages. In summer, though rains are not so frequent, the air is very moist, and the plain is generally enveloped in vapour and fogs, which engender fevers and other diseases. The heat at this season is oppressive. One very remarkable feature in the climate of this plain is, that sometimes in winter a hot southerly wind springs up, which changes the temperature in an instant to such a degree, that wood and other inflammable substances are dried up, so as to render them liable to ignite from the smallest spark. Sometimes this wind lasts only a quarter of an hour, but, generally, twenty-four hours. It is followed by a gale from the north-east, which brings snow and rain; by the natives it is called the Bagdad wind. It is probably to this air that Tavernier alludes, when he asserts that the Persians are sometimes destroyed instantly by a hot burning south wind.

But notwithstanding this climate is so extraordinary, it produces a luxuriance of vegetation, rarely met with even between the tropics. The swampy tracts along the shores of the Caspian sea abound with saline plants and canes, which are employed in building and for domestic purposes. Not far from the shores begin the forests, which cover the whole plain, and extend to a considerable elevation up the slopes of the hills. These forests are surrounded by orchards, plantations of mulberry trees, and fields of rice. The orchards produce figs, peaches, apricots, pears, apples, plums, and cherries. The vine is also cultivated here, and the pomegranate tree grows wild. The principal occupations of the peasants of Ghilan are the raising of silk, and the cultivation of rice.

The climate of the low sandy track along the Persian Gulf is distinguished for its great heat and aridity. On this account it abounds with date trees, which only bear eatable fruit where these circumstances concur. During the summer heat, it is extremely unhealthy. So oppressive is the heat, indeed, that the inhabitants generally retire to the adjacent mountains, leaving only a few poor creatures to watch their effects, who do so at the expense of their health.

In the interior of the table land of Persia, the climate is hot in summer, and cold in winter. In this part however, the air is dry, and the sky cloudless. This produces great purity of element, which is the chief blessing the Persians enjoy in this part of the country. They derive from thence a clear and florid complexion, and an excellent habit of body. In the summer, it seldom rains; but the heat is mitigated by

a brisk wind, which blows during the night, so that the traveller may proceed on his journey by the light of the glittering stars without inconvenience. In the winter, the air is not so dry in these parts. A considerable quantity of snow falls; and yet not so much as to render the soil fit for maintaining constant vegetation. Near the mountain ranges the fall of snow is much greater, which is supposed to occasion the superior fertility of those districts, especially where the vegetation can be promoted by irrigation. The lack of this moisture renders the central part of the table-land of Persia a desert, and from this cause, the oases within the desert are more fit for plantations of fruit trees, than for the cultivation of grain.* The plain surrounding Teheran, which is near the northern edge of the table-land, and not far from the foot of the Elburz range, was, when Frazer visited it in November, covered with snow; and when Morier was there in March, ice was still to be seen. The mild weather does not commence before April, when the transition from cold to heat is very sudden. At sunrise the thermometer stands between 61° and 64°, but at noon it rises to 75°, and in the afternoon a hot south-eastern wind generally blows, which renders the heat oppressive.

The great dryness of the air in this part of Persia exempts it from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring, indeed, occasionally showers of hail fall, but they do not appear to be common, or of a severe nature. The rainbow, that grand etherial object, that

> "Shoots up immense, and every hue unfolds,
> In fair proportion, running from the red
> To where the violet fades into the sky,"
>
> THOMSON,

is rarely seen in Persia, because there are not vapours sufficient to form it. By night, however, there are seen the phenomena of rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed by apparent trains of smoke. The winds, though frequently brisk, seldom swell into storms, but they are sometimes extremely infectious on the shores of the Gulf.

* Tavernier remarks, that the Persians are so sensible of the fertilizing influence of the snow, that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year. This is done by setting a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from Spauhawn, between two and three feet high, over which if the snow rises it causes much joy. The peasant who first brings the news of such an event to court, is rewarded for his pains by a considerable present

PRODUCTIONS.

Much may be gathered from the foregoing pages concerning the productions of Persia: as, however, many have not yet been mentioned, it is deemed desirable to enumerate the whole, as far as our information extends, under their different kinds.

Trees.—The fruit trees of Persia are managed with considerable skill, and in many places they are distinguished for their excellent fruit, which furnishes no mean article of internal trade. These fruits are apricots, peaches, apples, plums, pears, nectarines, quinces, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, currants, cherries, almonds, walnuts, and pistachio nuts. Vine plantations are extensive, but wine is only made by the Christian population. Dates ripen only in Gurmsir, and some of the lower valleys in the mountains of Kerman. Forest trees do not occur, except on the northern declivity of the Elburz mountains. The oak covers large tracts of the mountains of Kurdistan; but it does not give the beholder an idea of a

"King of the forest;
Majestically stern, sublimely great;
Laughing to scorn the wind, the flood, the flame;
And e'en when withering, proudly desolate."

It does not even grow to the size of a common timber tree. The most common trees of Persia are the plantane, willow, fir, and coruil, called by the Arabs, *seder*, and by the Persians, *couar*. The tree which bears gall nuts, grows abundantly in Kurdistan; and those which produce gums, mastich, and incense, are common in most parts of Persia: the latter more especially in Carmania Deserta. The tree bearing manna, is also frequent, and so is the tamarisk, a species of which likewise produces manna.

Grain.—The most usual crops in Persia are rice, wheat, and barley; but there are also millet, (*Holcus sorghum,*) maize, tel, or sesamum, a species of vetch, and several kinds of pease and beans. Rice is the general aliment of the Persians, for which reason they are very careful in its cultivation. It is, indeed, in that country, softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than that grown in any other part of the world.

Cucumber Plants.—Under this head only two plants occur, namely, the cucumber and the melon. The melons of Persia

are distinguished for their size and flavour. There appears to be about twenty kinds of them, and, like all other orientals, the Persians seem to have a passion for this fruit. They take great pains to preserve them in repositories when they are out of season; and when the season is in, they live almost entirely upon them.

Vegetable Productions.—The chief culinary vegetables of Persia are turnips, carrots, cabbages, lettuces, cauliflowers, celery, radishes, garlic, parsley, and onions.

Flowers.—Conspicuous among this class of plants in Persia, stands the rose. The size of the Persian rose trees, and the number of flowers on each, far exceeds any thing we are accustomed to witness. Sir Robert Ker Porter, describing the rose of Persia, says: "On first entering this bower of fairy-land, I was struck with the appearance of two rose trees, full *fourteen feet high*, laden with thousands of flowers, in every degree of expansion, and of a bloom and delicacy of scent that imbued the whole atmosphere with the most exquisite perfume: indeed, I believe, that in no country of the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia; in no country is it so cultivated and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded with its plants; their rooms ornamented with vases, filled with its gathered branches; and every bath strewed with the full-blown flowers, plucked from the ever replenished stems. Even the humblest individual, who pays a piece of copper money for a few whiffs of a *kalioun*, feels a double enjoyment when he finds it stuck with a bud from his dear native tree. But in this delicious garden of Negauvistan, the eye and the smell were not the only senses regaled by the presence of the rose; the ear was enchanted by the wild and beautiful notes of the multitude of nightingales, whose warblings seemed to increase in melody and softness with the unfolding of their favourite flowers; verifying the song of their poet, who says: 'When the charms of the bower are passed away, the fond tale of the nightingale no longer animates the scene.'"

The roses of Persia are of various kinds. There is the usual rose-coloured flower, white, red, or deeper red and yellow are mixed, that is, red on one side, and yellow or white on the other. Sometimes one tree produces flowers of three colours, red, red and yellow, red and white.

Besides the rose, most of the varieties of flowers in Europe are also known in Persia. Many, also, unknown to Europeans, are abundantly scattered abroad. From September

to the end of April, the province of Mazanderan is covered with flowers as with a rich embroidered carpet. Towards Media, also, and on the southern frontiers of Arabia, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, ranunculuses, etc., all growing spontaneously. In other places, as in the neighbourhood of Spauhawn, jonquils grow wild all the winter. The province of Hyrcania, however, for the beauty, variety, and quantity of its flowers, excels the rest of Persia, in this respect, as much as Persia does the rest of the world; an idea of which has been given in the notice of that province.

Herbs and Drugs.—As in flowers, so in its herbs, does Persia excel all other countries; especially such as are aromatic. For drugs, also, it is celebrated, producing as many as any country in Asia. Besides manna, cassia, senna, the *nux vomica*, gum ammoniac, by the Persians called *ouscic*, is found in abundance on the confines of Parthia, towards the south. Rhubarb grows commonly in Khorassan, the ancient Sogdiana; and the poppy of Persia, which produces opium, is esteemed the finest in the world, as well for its beauty, as the strength of its production. In many places saffron is cultivated. One of the most remarkable vegetable productions of Persia, is the plant from which assafœtida is obtained. This plant is called by the Persians *hiltet*, and it is supposed to be the *silphium* of Dioscorides. There are two kinds of it, the white and the black, which latter is the most esteemed, as possessing greater strength than the white. This drug has a stronger odour than any other known. It is said, that places where it has been preserved, will retain this odour for many years. There are two kinds of gum called *mummy* in Persia, which is in great request. This article is found in Carmania the Desert, and in Khorassan, where it distils from the rocks. It possesses great healing virtues. Its name is derived from the Persian word, *moum*, which signifies literally, an unguent. Galbanum is likewise common in Persia, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs of minor importance. Cotton is common all over Persia, and there is a tree resembling it, but which is more rare, producing a fine and soft substance like silk, of which many uses are made.

Metals and Minerals.—In ancient times there were silver mines in Persia, but at present there are none open. The expenses attending the working of them seems to have equalled their produce, which is represented as the cause of

their abandonment. Iron is abundant in many places, especially in Hyrcania, but it is not much worked. Chardin represents it as not worth above sixpence a hundred weight, and he says, that it is so full of sulphur, that if filings of it be cast into the fire, they make a report like powder. Too fierce a fire will also destroy the substance altogether. Copper has been discovered in Azerbigan, and other places ; but, like the iron, it is of little use unless it is mingled with copper from the mines of other countries, as Sweden and Japan. Rock salt is very abundant in Persia, and large tracts of the plain are covered with salt incrustations. In some places it is said to be as firm and hard as fire stone, and to be used as such in Carmania Deserta, in the erection of houses. In Hyrcania, and Mazanderan, naphtha of two kinds is met with, black and white. The richest mine in Persia, however, is the torquoise. There are also two kinds of this precious stone ; one in Khorassan, the other between Hyrcania and Parthia in Mount Phirous, which mountain derived its name from an ancient king of Persia. Other mines of this precious stone have, at a later date, been discovered, but they are by no means so valuable, the stone being less beautiful in colour, and waning by degrees, till at length it is colourless. Marble, free stone, and slate are found in great quantities about Hamadan. This marble is of four colours, white, or statuary, black, red and black, and white and black. The best is discovered about Taurus. This is almost as transparent as crystal ; its colour is white, mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that some have doubted whether it is a stone. In the neighbourhood of Hamadan, azure is found, but it is not equal to that of Tartary, and therefore it is not held in repute.

Such was and is Persia. Anciently it possessed the blessings of this life in rich abundance, and even now its inhabitants can rejoice in the gifts of nature. But Persia has ever lacked the richest blessing that can be bestowed on a country, that of the Christian religion. For many an age they were led astray by the Magian faith, and now they bend under the yoke of the arch impostor Mohammed. But

"The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which Heaven has heard for ages, have an end.
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
Whose fire was kindled at the prophet's lamp,
The time of rest, the promised sabbath comes."

Then shall

"The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other, and the mountain tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy,
Till nation after nation, taught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round.
See Salem built, the labour of a God!
Bright as a sun, the sacred city shines.
All kingdoms, and all princes of the earth
Flock to that light; the glory of all lands
Flows into her; unbounded is her joy,
And endless her increase. Thy rams are there,
Nebaioth, and the flocks of Kedar there.
The looms of Ormus, and the mines of Ind,
And Saba's spicy groves pay tribute there.
Praise is in all her gates; upon her walls,
And in her streets, and in her spacious courts,
Is heard salvation. Eastern Java, there,
Kneels with the native of the furthest west;
And Æthiopia spreads abroad the hand,
And worships. Her report has travelled forth
Into all lands. From every clime they come
To see thy beauty, and to share thy joy,
Oh Sion! An assembly such as earth
Saw never, such as heaven stoops down to see."

COWPER.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.

In the various provinces of the vast empire of Persia, there were a great number of important cities and towns; but concerning many of them, no detailed information has been handed down to us by ancient writers. All, therefore, that can be done in these pages, is to notice those of which any account, and any remains, have survived the wreck of ages, and which were of the greatest note. Among these stands pre-eminently forward, the city of

PERSEPOLIS,

which stood within the province of Persia.

The city of Persepolis is mentioned by Greek writers, after the era of Alexander, as the capital of Persia. The name, however, does not occur in the writings of Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, or Nehemiah, who were well acquainted with the other principal cities of the Persian empire, and who make frequent mention of Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. But this may be accounted for by the fact, that Persepolis never appears to have been a place of residence for the Persian kings, though it was regarded as the capital of their empire in the remotest ages.

There has been much dispute respecting the Persian name of Persepolis. According to oriental historians, it was Istakher, or Estekhar; and many modern authors suppose that Persepolis and Pasagardæ, the common burial-places of the kings of Persia, are only different names for the same place, and that the latter word is the Greek translation of the former. Their views do not seem to be correct: there are strong reasons, indeed, for believing that they are different places.

The city of Persepolis was situated in an extensive plain, near the union of the Araxes (Bendemir) and Cyrus (Kur.)

In the time of Alexander, there was at Persepolis a magnificent palace, full of immense treasures, which had been accumulating from the time of Cyrus. Little is known of its history. When Alexander, however, subverted the Persian empire, Persepolis fell a prey to the maddened rage of the conqueror. Instigated by a courtezan, he issued from a banquet, and accompanied by a band of other bacchanals, as cruel and as mad as himself, with flaming torches in their hands, like so many furies, they fired the palace of the Persian monarch, after which his army plundered and devasted the city.

But it was not Alexander alone that reduced Persepolis to its present mournful state. It existed, but not in its pristine glory, in the days of Ammianus Marcellinus; and in the Greek chronicle of Tabri, who flourished in the ninth century, it is said, that Pars, or Persia, composed a number of districts, each governed by a petty king, one of whom ruled in Istakher. The chronicle further states, that Artaxerxes Babegan commenced his ambitious career by putting to death the king of Istakher, after which he rendered himself master not only of Pars, but of Kirman, and finally became ruler of all Iran, or Persia, by the defeat and death of Adavan. The same authority states, that Shapoor II., having recovered Nisibin, in Diyarbekr, he sent 12,000 families from Istakher to reinhabit the deserted city. About A. D. 639, the Arabs made an unsuccessful attempt on Istakher, and two years after the decisive battle of Nehavend was fought, the result of which was, the future capture of Persepolis, or Istakher. This battle, also, decided the fate of Persia, and the religion of Zoroaster. The blaze of the eternal fire was extinguished by the superior radiance of the crescent; and the sceptre of empire, wielded by the successors of Artaxerxes for more than four centuries, dropped from the hands of the unfortunate Yasdijerd, while the sun of the house of Sassan went down to rise no more. Persepolis underwent another vicissitude in 644, when the Arabs, under the command of Abu Musa al Ashari, defeated Shahreg, who lost his life and the city of Istakher, which paid a contribution of 200,000 silver dirhems to obtain a respite. In 648, the inhabitants of Istakher revolted, and slew the Arabian governor, in consequence of which the khalif Othman sent Abdaliah Emb Amer with troops from Basrah to Istakher, where they encountered the Persians, commanded by Mahek, son of Shahreg, who had been slain by Abu Musa al Ashari "from the dawn of day till the time of the meridian prayer." Mahek fled, and the city of Isakher

was taken by storm; after which the city declined daily, so that in 950, it was not above a mile in length, and was finally destroyed in 982 by the Dilemite prince Samsa'm Ad'doulah. It exists only, says Hamdallah Cazvini, who wrote in 1339, under the reduced form of a village.

It has been well said, in deprecation of the destruction of cities, which history lauds as the work of heroes, "How many monuments of literature and science, of taste and genius, of utility, splendour, and elegance, have been destroyed by the ruthless hands of sanguinary heroes, who have left nothing but ruins as the monuments of their prowess." The ruins of Persepolis respond to these sentiments, while at the same time, in the ear of reason, they discourse of the mutability of all things below the skies.

The ruins of Persepolis, which are usually called by the inhabitants, "Tchil-Minar," (the forty pillars,) and sometimes "Hesa Suture," (the thousand columns,) are very grand.

"——— The piles of fallen Persepolis
In deep arrangement hide the darksome plain.
Unbounded waste! the mouldering obelisk,
Here, like a blasted oak, ascends the clouds.
Here Parian domes their vaulted halls disclose,
Horrid with thorn where lurks the' unpitying thief,
Whence flits the twilight-loving bat at eve,
And the deaf adder wreaths her spotted train,
The dwellings once of elegance and art!
Here temples rise, amid whose hallowed bounds
Spires the black pine; while through the naked street,
Once haunt of tradeful merchants, springs the grass.
Here columns, heap'd on prostrate columns, torn
From their firm base, increase the mouldering mass.
Far as the sight can pierce, appear the spoils
Of sunk magnificence! A blended scene
Of moles, fanes, arches, domes, and palaces
Where, with his brother Horror, Ruin sits."

WARTON.

Those who have visited the ruins of Persepolis concur in one unanimous verdict, that the city represented by them, must have been the most magnificent ever seen on earth; and that the Persian empire, in all its glory, could not boast of any thing more grand, nor have left to wondering posterity any thing more astonishing, than these venerable ruins. The present inhabitants of the vale of Merdasht, the plain of Persepolis, ignorant of the glories of their ancestors, deem them the work of demons, or of the Præadamite sultans, now immured in the rocky caverns of the mighty Caucasus,

or of the great Solomon, the son of David, who, in eastern romance, is said to have had all the demons and genii under his control. Unconscious that he is treading on classic ground, the wandering Ihat tends his flock amid the tenantless waste; and the music that once called up the spirit of mirth in the breast of monarchs, is exchanged for the howl of wild beasts. In the halls of a Xerxes, in the palace of Chosroes, the fox takes up his abode, and the spider weaves her web; while from the towers of Istakher the screech owl nightly takes up its doleful note. Such is the end of human greatness!

The plain where these awful representatives of Persepolis stand, is one of the most extensive in Persia, and the finest in the east. According to Chardin, it extends eighteen leagues from east to west, by a diversified breadth of from six, to twelve, and eighteen miles. It is watered by the Araxes, and many minor streams. It is bounded on the north by the western branch of the Kur-aub; on the south by the south branch of the Kur-aub; and on the west by the Araxes, thus describing an oval figure. On the north-west is the junction of the Parwaub and the Araxes; and on the north-east is the point where the Kur-aub diverges into the two branches which bound its two sides. On every side it is surrounded with mountains, which give as much natural grandeur to the vale, as the city it contained could receive from industry and art; nay, more, for the works of the Creator far surpass those of the creature.

The principal ruins of Persepolis are those of the Takh-i-Jemschid, which is identified with the palace set on fire by Alexander, and which stands at the base of the abruptly rising rock of Istakher. The first object that meets the eye of the traveller is the platform, which is an artificial plain of a very irregular shape, but facing the four cardinal points, like the bases of the Egyptian pyramids. The dimensions of the three faces of the platform are these; to the south 802 feet; to the north 926; and to the west 1425 feet. The level of the building at this date is very uneven, which is occasioned by the increasing accumulation of falling ruins, and the soil, which, from various causes, successively collects over these heaps. On the north-west, large masses of the native rock show themselves without incumbrance, still retaining marks of the original hammers and other instruments by which the higher portions of the rock had been cut down to the required level. Beyond the face of the platform, the rock protrudes in vast abrupt cliffs; and in deeper cavities the progress of a

quarry is visible, part of the rock being half hewn through, and in other places lying in completed slabs, ready for removal. This would indicate that the structure was not considered complete. It was the work of ages, and every succeeding monarch added to its grandeur. What, however, had been done could scarcely be exceeded. Its steep faces are formed of dark grey marble, cut into huge square blocks, and exquisitely polished. These are fitted to each other with such closeness and precision, that when first completed, the platform must have appeared as part of the solid mountain itself, levelled to become the foundation for a palace. The height of the platform is evidently considerably lower than it once was, owing to the masses of ruin and vegetative matter at its base. These have raised hillocks against all the sides, making rough slopes; whereas originally they were perpendicular. Ker Porter says he measured them, and that he found, at a spot near the group of columns, the perpendicular depth to be thirty feet; but he adds, that were all the rubbish to be cleared away, an additional depth of twenty feet would be discovered. The south side does not exceed twenty feet, and to the north it varies from sixteen to twenty-six feet. The platform embraces three terraces. The first and lowest embraces the southern face, by 183 feet broad; the second is more elevated, and the third more elevated still. Along the edge of the lowest terrace there are masses of stone which apparently are fragments of a parapet wall; and on the edge of the third, or highest terrace, to the south, are decided remains of a strong stone railing, or range of palisades. These cease at the top of the staircase connecting this with the lower terrace. At the top of this flight of steps, are two large holes cut deeply into the stone, which received the pivots of the gates that closed this ingress. There is only one way by which this platform can be ascended, and that is by a staircase situated on its western side. A double flight of stairs rises very gently north and south, the base of which is sixty-seven feet by twenty-two. On ascending these, there is an irregular landing-place of thirty-seven feet by forty-four, whence springs a second flight of steps covering fifty-nine feet by twenty-two. Two corresponding staircases terminate on the grand level of the platform, by a landing-place occupying sixty-four feet. So easy of ascent is this staircase, and so grand is it likewise, that six horsemen may ride abreast to the summit of the platform. On reaching the platform, the lofty sides of a magnificent portal meet the eye of the traveller. The interior faces of the walls of this portal

are sculptured out into the forms of two colossal bulls. These animals look westward; their heads, chests, and fore legs, occupying nearly the entire thickness of the wall in that direction; the rest of their bodies being left in relief. They stand on a pedestal elevated five feet above the level of the platform. Considerably above the backs of these animals are three small compartments filled with cunieform inscriptions. Each bull is twenty-two feet long from its fore to its hind leg, and fourteen and a half feet high: their hands are gone. Round their necks are beautifully carved collars of roses; and over the chest, back, and ribs, extends a decoration resembling hair, short and curled, the execution of which is exquisite. Their proportions are admirable; and there is a corresponding grandeur which is in perfect accordance to the prodigious scale on which all around them is executed. The broad ornamented chest and the position of these animals are full of pondrous majesty; and the whole is combined with such spirit in the attitude and action that the sculpture seems ready to walk from the mass to which it is attached. It is supposed that these figured animals were symbolical representations of the attribute of power, and that as such they were placed as symbols at the gate of the kings of Persia. This is very probable; for throughout all Pagan mythology the bull is designated the emblem of power, as the lion is the emblem of royalty. The bull was, indeed, a favourite divinity in Egypt, Syria, and India; and the lion and bull, either singly or in compound forms, are found connected with almost all the ancient Persian structures. The body of the bull is indicative of power, and his horn of force exerted by that instrument. Every symbolical animal of this kind which Sir Robert Ker Porter saw in Persian architecture had but one horn; hence he conjectures that these animals were thus represented originally.

A little distant from the portal to the east, when Sir John Chardin visited Persepolis, (A. D. 1674,) there were four columns; two of these now only remain, and the base of these is nearly buried by an accumulation of ruins. These columns are of white marble, fluted, and exceedingly beautiful as to their capitals and other ornaments. Le Brun says they are fourteen feet round. The shaft gradually narrows towards the top, and it is varied by thirty-nine flutings, each four inches wide. Le Brun makes their height, exclusive of their bases, to be fifty-four feet, in which Ker Porter nearly agrees. The surface of the top is smooth, without the slightest remains

of any loose fragment; hence the latter traveller supposes that when the four were united they sustained the plane or pedestal of some sculptured symbolical image.

About twenty-four feet from these columns stands another gateway, in all respects similar to the first in proportion, except that it is eighteen feet in length, instead of twenty-one. The inner sides of this portal are also sculptured, but the animals represented are of extraordinary formation. They have the body and legs of a bull; but an enormous pair of wings project from the shoulders, extending high over the back, and covering the breast, whence they appear to spring, as the entire chest is cased with their plumage. The feathers which compose the wings are exquisitely wrought. The heads of the animals look east to the mountains, and exhibit the faces of men, severe in countenance. A long curled beard adds to the majesty of their appearance. The ears are like those of the bull, and they are ornamented with large pendant earrings of an elegant form. On the head is a cylindrical diadem, on both sides of which horns are clearly represented, winding upwards from the brows to the front of the crown, the whole being surmounted by a coronet of lotos leaves, and bound by a fillet of exquisitely carved roses. The hair is ranged over the forehead in the style of the ancient Persian kings, and the beard is also disposed after the fashion of royalty; but the hair behind differs essentially from all the bas-reliefs in other parts of the ruins. The animal measures nineteen feet from the top of the crown to the hoof, and three compartments of cuneiform inscriptions are cut in the wall over his body.

This is the only specimen known to exist in Persia of the human and bestial form combined. Hence much learned speculation has been put forth to the world upon this subject. It is an enigma, however, which no one has yet solved satisfactorily; and which, unless the cuneiform characters cut over the body could be deciphered, must ever remain unsolved.

On the south of the portal there is a capacious cistern, eighteen feet long, by sixteen feet broad. This was filled with water by subterraneous aqueducts, and it appears to have been hewn out of the solid rock. To the south of this is the magnificent terrace that supports the Hall of Columns. This hall, peculiarly denominated *Chehilminar*, or Palace of forty Columns, is exceedingly magnificent. They are approached by a double staircase, projecting considerably be-

fore the northern face of the terrace. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is very gradual; each flight containing only thirty steps, each four inches high, fourteen broad, and sixteen feet long. The whole front of the advanced range, as soon as the landing-place is gained, is replete with sculptures. The place immediately under the landing-place is divided into three compartments, on which, except the middle one, are inscriptions. To the left of it are four standing figures, five feet six inches high, habited in long robes, with brogues like buskins on their feet, and holding each a short spear in an upright position. Their heads are covered with flute flat-topped caps, and a bow and quiver hang from the left shoulder. On the right are three figures, looking towards these four, in every respect similar, the bow and quiver excepted. Instead of these, they carry a large shield on the left arm, in the form of a Bœtian buckler. The dress of these corresponds to the description which Herodotus gives of the Persians. He says: "The Persians wore small helmets on their heads, which they call teàræ; their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield, called *gerra*, beneath which was a quiver. They had short spears, large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side a dagger suspended from the belt." This dress is what they called the Median, and it was introduced by Cyrus into Persia. The angular space on each side of these groups of spearmen are filled with representations of a combat between a lion and a bull. What this represents is unknown; for the Persians were not accustomed, like the Romans, to enjoy the combats—if such be enjoyments—in an arena fitted up for that purpose: these sculptured combats are therefore allegorical representations, of which nothing is known. Of the sculpture, Sir Robert Ker Porter says: "The fire, beauty, and truth with which these quadrupeds are drawn, will hardly appear credible but to one who has appeared on the spot; for no artist, whether in Greece or Rome, could have been more faithful to the proportions of nature, or shown more knowledge of the anatomy of their forms. But it must be observed that animal forms are given there with much more nicety in their limbs, muscles, and action, than when the sculptor attempts the human form. This holds good in the antiquities of Egypt, Syria, and India."

On the inclined planes, corresponding to the slope of the stairs, there is a line of dwarf figures, answering in number to the steps, each of which appears to form a pedestal for a figure. A similar range appears on the opposite side. Both of these are thought to represent the *Doryphores*, or body guards of the great king.

Having ascended the second flight of stairs, the traveller finds a triangular space formed by the slope of the steps, which is filled up with the combat of the lion and the bull, occupying a length of twenty-three feet. The space is divided by a tablet, on which are three rows of mutilated figures, covering an expanse of sixty-eight feet, and ending at the top of the stairs of the outward approach. The upper row of figures begins with a chariot drawn by two bulls; then a second; then a horse, with the feet of a man, on the opposite side, as its attendant; then two other horses; then five figures habited in short vests; and then with a succession of forty-four long-robed spearmen. The second row commences with a range of thirty-two figures, clothed alternately in long and short robes, the former of which represents the Median, and the latter the genuine Persian habit. After these figures, there are twenty-eight robed Persians, armed with spears, each bearing the same attitude, and having a fillet round his head, on which are the traces of leaves. Twelve sculptured cypress trees complete this bas-relief, and end near the stairs. The lowest row of figures is a line of robed and tiara-capped personages, to the number of thirty-two. These are alternately arranged with their brethren in tunics, and followed by a train of twenty-one guards, in the same uniform as those described. This last row is more perfect than the upper ones, inasmuch as it has been preserved from the hand of the Gothlike destroyers, by the heaps of ruin at its base.

The wing on the opposite side of this magnificent approach is like the one described, divided into three lines of bas-relief, each subdivided into compartments by a large cypress tree. These bas-reliefs are adorned with figures of men with offerings, warriors, horses, chariots, colossal bulls, dromedaries, lions, the ibex, serpents, the gurkur, or wild ass, etc., on all which Ker Porter remarks, "Here, when comparing the colossal proportions of the structure, and its gigantic sculptures, with the delicacy, beauty, and perfection of the execution of the ornaments, I might say with the poet,

'Here the loves play on the bosom of Hercules.'"

Like the former bas-reliefs, this latter is also destroyed by time, combined with the destructive mallet: thus does man destroy the works of his brother man. Revenge, envy, and the lust of power have no regard for art and industry, and their mighty and beautiful works perish under their evil influences.

This last bas-relief is supposed to represent the feast at the vernal equinox, or feast of Nauroose, when the Persians presented their annual gratuities to the monarch, and the governors of their provinces, with their delegates, brought in the annually collected tax from each, with a due proportion of other offerings. Such a practice is still prevalent in Persia at the feast of Nauroose.

The traveller now gains the platform itself. And here nothing can be more sublime than the view of its ruins; so vast, magnificent, mutilated, and silent. Every object is beautiful in desolation! This pile is in length, from east to west, about 308 feet, and from north to south 350 feet. The greater part of it is covered with broken capitals, shafts of pillars, and fragments of building. The distribution of pillars stood in four divisions, and consisted of a centre phalanx of six deep every way, with an advanced body of twelve in two ranks, and the same number flanking the centre. One only is now standing, and the shattered bases of nine only now remain, but the places of the others which completed the colonnade may still be traced. To the westward of these appear another double range of columns, five of which are still erect. From hence to the eastern range of a similar number, is 268 feet. Four of these columns are still standing, and the pedestals of four more are yet entire; but the rest lie buried under masses of ruin. On the appearance of these three colonnades, Ker Porter writes: "I gazed at them with wonder and delight. Besides the admiration which the general elegance of their form, and the exquisite workmanship of their parts excited, I was never made so sensible of the impression of perfect symmetry, comprising that of perfect beauty also. The columns are each sixty feet high the circumference of their shaft sixteen feet, and in length from the capital to the tor forty-four feet. The shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions: at its lower extremity begin a cincture and a torus, the first two inches deep, the latter one foot; whence devolves the pedestal in the form of the cup, and leaves of a lotos, or lily. This rests on a plinth of eight inches, and in circumference twenty-four and a half

feet; the whole, from the cincture to the plinth, being five feet ten inches in height. The capitals, which yet remain, though much iujured, are yet sufficient to show that they were surmounted by the demi-bull. The heads of the bulls forming the capitals look to the various fronts of the terrace."

About sixty feet from the eastern and western colonnades stood the central phalanx of pillars, in number thirty-six. Five of these now only remain. They are similar to those described, except that they want five feet of the height. Their fluted shafts are thirty-five feet high; but their capitals are the same with those of the great portal, where the crowned and winged bull appears so conspicuous. This phalanx of pillars is supposed to have supported a roof connected with the colonnades. The nearest building to these pillars is approached from the west by a double flight of stairs in ruins, which have been decorated with sculptured guards and other figures. This building is 170 feet by ninety-five. The eastern side is covered with fallen remains and earth, so that it is impossible to discover a corresponding flight of stairs in that quarter. On the south, the entire face of the terrace supporting this building is occupied with another staircase, whose landing-place is forty-eight feet by ten wide. Its front is divided by a tablet with a cuneiform inscription, on each side of which stand spearmen of gigantic heights. North of this is an open space of sixty-five feet, on which appear the foundations of some narrow walls. On each side of this, forty feet to the south, are two lofty entrances composed of four solid upright blocks of marble, nearly black. Within these portals are bas-reliefs of two guards, each habited in the Median robe, and armed with a long spear. On the verge of the landing-place from the western staircase, there is a portal of these long shielded guards; and a little onwards there is another leading into a room of forty-eight feet square. This room had formerly seven doors leading into it, but of these five only now remain. These have all on their several sides duplicate bas-reliefs of a royal personage, attended by two men, one of whom holds an umbrella. Compartments of inscriptions are over the heads of these groups. To the south is another division of the same edifice, forty-eight by thirty feet, and terminating on each side, southward, on the landing-place, by a couple of square pillars of one entire piece of marble, twenty-two feet high, and covered in different ranges with inscriptions in different languages, Cufic, Arabic, and Persic. The traces of a double colonnade are

visible along the open space, between the western face of the greater terrace and the western face of this edifice. Thus there are three terraces from the level of the plain. A fourth lies ninety-six feet south of the third, their summits being on a level with each other. Three of the sides of the fourth terrace are obscured by rubbish. Along the northern verge, however, rises the heads of a line of figures, equal in size to those on the stairs of the terrace of the double chamber. They are armed with the bow and quiver. A flight of ruined steps is found at the north-west angle, on which are the remains of fine bas-relief decoration. The plane of this terrace is a square of ninety-six feet, thirty-eight of which on the western side are occupied by the depth of the approach. In this latter space there are the bases of ten columns, three feet three inches in diameter, and standing ten feet equi-distant from each other. Fifty-eight feet of this terrace, at its south-west angle, is surmounted by an additional square elevation, the whole depth of which, from summit to base, is sixty-two feet. Along its lower surface are the lower parts of twelve pillars of the same diameter and distance from each other as in the neighbouring colonnade. Beyond the terrace of the double pillars rises another and more extensive elevation, apparently a part of the royal residence itself. On the north of this is an immense heap of ruins, between which and the terrace a spacious open area intervenes. Ker Porter imagines that this mound is the ruins of the banqueting house, from which Alexander issued forth with his drunken companions to desolate the palace. The fifth terrace is the most conspicuous on the whole platform, being at this date twenty feet above its level; it is also the most ruinous of the whole building. The several faces of the building, indeed, are now marked by their foundations alone, one window to the west and three to the east excepted. These faces open from two corresponding wings, each subdivided into three spacious apartments, the outer ones of which communicate with several pillared quadrangles.

In the centre of these quadrangles stands the plinth of four small columns, each having a diameter of two feet and a half, and sixteen feet from a door which leads into a noble hall of ninety feet square. A door on the opposite side corresponds with this, and both lead into quadrangles, similarly open, of four pillars. Another portal leads to the south, and a fourth and fifth to the north, into a large vestibule, the whole width of the hall, which is supported by eight similar columns.

Two doors lead from this vestibule, south and west, into six smaller rooms, the windows of which are formed of four large slabs of marble, six feet thick, equivalent to the depth of the walls. On the inner faces of the windows that admit light into the rooms there are duplicate bas-reliefs, occupying the whole surface, and consisting of two figures each. The windows of another room are ornamented with three bas-reliefs of figures, following each other, and each one facing inward, as if directing their steps to the same spot. On the remnants of windows in another apartment are found similar bas-reliefs of three figures, some with their heads covered, and some uncovered. All of these carry something in their hands, as dishes, or bowls, as though they represented servants: two of them are in the Median dress, with their faces uncovered. The door-frames have all one description of bas-relief, that of a royal personage, followed by two attendants bearing an umbrella and a fly-chaser. Over these bas-reliefs are three small compartments of cuneiform inscriptions. At the sides of the open court are the remains of its once magnificent approaches; and near that, eastward, rise from a hollow beneath to a level with the pavement, four enormous supports, resembling rough formed pedestals, and which was intended to uphold some body of immense weight. Opposite is a flight of steps, of a double ascent, beginning from beneath inwardly. These steps are greatly decayed, and bas-reliefs of guards, with duplicates of the combats between the bull and the lion, are similarly circumstanced. To the north of these steps, about sixty feet, are several colossal masses of stone, formerly the sides of gateways, leading into a square edifice of about ninety-six feet, which is small in proportion to the number and size of its entrances. Three of these doorways are yet entire. On the interior face of the door toward the east, are three figures twelve feet high. These are representations of the monarch and his attendants. The visage of the monarch is mutilated, but the air of his person is very majestic. A venerable beard is nicely disposed upon his breast, and there is a mass of hair curled conspicuously covering his neck. He is covered with the regal tiara, carries a long thin staff in his right hand, and in his left a lily. The broad belt and Median robe complete his attire. One of his attendants holds in both hands an umbrella over his head, while the other waves a fly-chaser in the same direction, grasping in his left hand what probably signifies the royal handkerchief. These attendants are clad in the long robe. The group is sculp-

tured on a marble stone sixteen feet high and nine wide, which is surmounted by a block of smaller dimensions, also adorned with a sculptured figure resembling the personage below. This figure issues from a circle, whence diverge two strange floating forms, resembling serpents, with their heads concealed behind the figure. A pair of large wings spread themselves on each side of the circle. On the portals are duplicates of the same royal personage. This figure is seated on a chair of state, with his staff and lily. An attendant stands before him, waving the fly-chaser over his head. The aërial form, before described, hovers over him. In this quadrangle four portals face each other. In the centre of these portals, the plinths of four columns are still remaining, ten feet distant from each other, and four in diameter. This building is supposed to have been the private oratory of the king, where he offered up his daily adorations to Mezdan or Ormuzd. It is also conjectured that between these four pillars stood an altar containing the sacred fire, which was the symbol of divinity among the ancient Persians. It is a singular fact, that in this building there are no representations of guards round the various effigies of the monarch to protect him. Perhaps Ormuzd was considered a sufficient protector.

On the south-east of this edifice of the four pillars, is another ruined pile. A quadrangular edifice of forty-eight feet, and another of thirty feet, separated from it by a wall, constitutes the chief glory of this pile. These two apartments, indeed, apparently complete the whole edifice; but there is a continuation of foundation walls, with the fragments of columns, architraves, and other architectural adjuncts, supporting a roof. At the extremities of the wall, southward, are two stones, each eighteen feet high, and from three and a half to five feet wide. Two doorways have bas-reliefs of the double guard on their sides, and another portal opens from the middle of the southern apartment into the enclosed quadrangle. In the passage is the walking figure of a monarch, with his usual attendant; and the entrances which open into it from the east and west are ornamented with the combats of a lion and a man, while those opening into it from the north are decorated with representations of spearmen.

North of this edifice there is another, next in extent to the Chehilminar, being a square of 210 feet each face. Doors enter into this on every hand, but the grand portals are on the north. Nearly parallel with its eastern and western

angles are two colossal bulls, standing on immense pedestals. These bulls face the north: two others, at some distance from them, look due south. These latter appeared to have formed the sides of a magnificent gateway. The sides of the principal doors of this quadrangle are richly adorned with sculpture. The most conspicuous is that of the monarch seated on his chair of state, with both feet resting on a footstool. This chair (or, in other words, the state chair of Persia) resembles the high backed and carved chairs of our ancestors in form, only it was gorgeously inlaid with gold, covered with a carpet, and so high that a stool was always placed at its feet. Over the monarch's head are bas-relief ornaments of a canopy supported by pillars, profusely decorated with fretwork fringes, and borders with lions and bulls. On the legs of the chair are the sculptured feet of a lion, and those of a bull are found in the feet of the footstool. Behind the monarch stands the fan-bearer, with his face muffled; a second tunicked person bears the royal bow and battle axe; and a third, dressed in the Median habit, stands behind, holding a long wand in both hands. At the foot of the throne are two vessels, with connecting chains to their covers. These probably were filled with perfumes. A muffled attendant approaches from without the pillared frame, bringing a small metal-like pail, as though it contained aromatics for the supply of the vessels. Behind the censers, and facing the monarch, there is a tunicked personage with a plain bonnet, having in his left hand a short rod, and holding his right hand to his mouth to prevent his breath exhaling towards the monarch, to whom he bends as he addresses himself. Beyond the royal group, and divided from it by a horizontal border, decked with roses, there are five ranges of attendants, containing fifty sculptured figures, in a military dress.

Beyond the northern front of the edifice above described, there are two portals pointing east and south. These portals are decorated with sculptured double guards, about twelve feet high. The faces of these figures are two feet seven inches long, of a beautiful colour, and exquisite workmanship. Their spears are supposed to be nearly eighteen feet in length. Around and between these portals there are numerous fragments of columns, architraves, and other ruins, which indicate that formerly there was a covered colonnade in these parts. Sculptures are met with here similar to those found on the doors on the north. On the compartments is another view of the monarch, attended only by his fly-chaser.

The canopy over his head consists of fretted rings, roses, etc., of the most exquisite sculpture. Lions, the serpent-winged emblem, and the unicorn-bull, fill two rows, while the ferwar, or aërial figure, surmounts the whole, exhibiting a fac-simile of the symbol below.

The four portals of the quadrangle are decorated with sculptured combats between a human figure, usually denominated the pontiff king, and an animal form. The first bas-relief is in one of the doorways in the western face of the building. The hero is clad in long robes, having his arms bare. In his left hand he grasps the strong single horn of the animal, which is on its forehead, while he thrusts his poniard into its body with his right hand. The animal has the head and neck of an eagle, and is covered with immense plumage half way down its back. Though wounded, it seems to oppose its adversary with rampant violence. The corresponding sculpture presents an animal with the head of a wolf, the fore legs and body of a lion, the hinder legs of an eagle, and the neck scaled or feathered with a prickly mane. It has long wings stretching nearly to its tail, which are formed of a chain of bones like the vertebræ of the back, and cut with the most correct knowledge of animal anatomy. A crooked horn projects from the head of this animal, which is grasped by the hero, who is represented stabbing him. The other opponents of the pontiff king are those of a horned lion, and a unicorn-bull: all of these must be looked upon as in the highest degree emblematical.

It is supposed that the monstrous legends of Persian romance originated in these strange combinations of human and bestial forms, and especially the legends of their great poet, Ferdoosi. There seems, indeed, to be a great analogy between these latter sculptures and his fictions; for he leads his hero, Isfendeear, through seven enchanted gates, the first of which was defended by two wolves; the second by two lions; the third by a dragon; the fourth by a demon devourer of the dead; the fifth by a griffin; the sixth by a cataract; and the seventh by a lake and boundless mountains; all of which his hero overcomes. To such strange purposes can man pervert his intellect, that gift of Heaven, which is given to him to assist him in his journey through life, and to glorify his Creator!

Besides these magnificent remains of this truly wonderful platform, Sir Robert Ker Porter found several other splendid ruins at a place called the Harem of Jemschid. These con-

sisted chiefly of prostrate grey marble columns, highly ornamented and fluted, remains of massy walls, and the marble work of several door-frames. This harem stands about five miles north-east of Persepolis, and no doubt it was once a portion of this far-famed city.

Of tombs and sepulchral chambers hewn out of the perpendicular face of rocks, there are several specimens at Nakshi Roostam, or portrait of Roostam. These excavations are very shallow, and consist chiefly of an architectural frontispiece or portico, richly adorned with sculpture and other decorations. Four of these tombs are evidently coeval with the building of the palace, and are those of the monarchs residing at Persepolis; the others, which are lower down, are those of the Sassanian monarchs. These are sculptured with equestrian figures of the Sassanian monarchs, with Pehlivi inscriptions. Sir William Ouseley supposes a small square edifice, opposite to the sculptured rock of Nakshi Roostam, to have contained the body of Cyrus; and its appearance is conformable to the idea given of it by Strabo, who says, that "it was a tower not large, having a very narrow entrance." Arrian also says of it, that "it was situate in the royal garden, amid trees and running streams." This tomb, however, does not appear to be clearly identified, for there are no traces of a garden near the spot; the name of Cyrus, moreover, does not appear upon the inscription, and St. Martin supposes that it rather refers to Artaxerxes Ochus.

Such is the state of the once mighty city of Persepolis: such its ruins! They add their testimony, with the many ancient cities now buried beneath their own ruins, to the perishing nature of all human things. Though hewn out of the "eternal rock," yet time and the destroyer man, have laid the sublime palace of Istakher low. No human head can find a shelter there, where the mighty monarchs of Persia once reposed. Yes, this rock, though once cleft with nicest art and industrious care, for the repose of poor mortality, now mocks the traveller who seeks a refuge there, like every earthly object, reminding him that there is a Rock that never fails to shelter those that seek a refuge. That Rock is Christ, 1 Cor. x. 4.

PASAGARDÆ.

This ancient town of Persia is said to have been built by Cyrus, after his victory over Astyages the Mede, which he

gained near this place. Plutarch says that the kings of Persia were consecrated at Pasagardæ by the magi; and Strabo and Arrian relate, that the tomb of Cyrus was at this place. Their description of its situation has been seen in the preceding article. The lower part of the tomb, they say, was of a quadrangular shape, and above it there was a chamber built of stone, with an entrance so narrow, that it was difficult for a man to pass through it. Aristobulus entered this chamber, and found in it a golden couch, a golden coffin, a table with cups upon it, and many beautiful garments, swords, and chains. This writer says that the inscription on the tomb read thus: "O man, I am Cyrus, who acquired sovereignty for the Persians, and was king of Asia. Do not, then, grudge me this monument." Magi guarded the tomb, who received daily offerings of sheep, wine, and wheat, which were given in honour of Cyrus. The tomb was plundered in the days of Alexander by robbers, who carried away every thing but the golden couch and coffin, which they were probably not able to move through the aperture of the chamber.

The site of Pasagardæ has been much disputed. Many imagine that it is to be identified with Persepolis; but there appears to be little doubt that they are distinct places. As such they are mentioned by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny, the latter of whom says that Pasagardæ was to the east of a town called Laodicea, of which nothing is known. Lassen thinks, that we ought to look for Pasagardæ south-east of Persepolis, in the neighbourhood of Fasa. This is the most probable conjecture yet formed on the subject, but after all, it is but conjecture, for time has done its work effectually with reference to Pasagardæ, by having swept its every remains, great and noble as they may have been, from off the face of the earth.

SUSA.

Susa, which was so called from the lily, with which flower the place abounded, was one of the royal cities of Persia. In the prophecies of Daniel, it is called Shushan, Dan. viii. 2. It appears to have existed as a city from the remotest ages, and it is said to have been first made a residence of the Persian court by Cyrus. The kings of Persia resided at Susa during the whole or part of the winter, the climate and local position rendering the temperature mild at that season. In the summer, the temperature was so hot that the court then

removed to Ecbatana, the elevated position and northern situation of which rendered its summers cool and agreeable, while the severity of the cold in winter compelled a return to Susa. The city was greatly improved by Darius Hystaspes; and it would seem that the Persian kings deposited their treasures and the records of their kingdoms at Susa, conjointly with Ecbatana. Nothing is known descriptively concerning its ancient condition, except that Strabo relates, it was built of brick like Babylon, was of an oblong figure, and 120 stadia (about fourteen miles) in circumference. The palace was accounted one of the most magnificent royal residences in the world. The wealth of Susa was immense. In an account where Aristagoras comes before Cleomenes, to tempt him to foreign conquests, having with him a brazen tablet, on which was engraved the circuit of the earth, with its seas and rivers, he points, among other places, to Susa, saying: "On the banks of the Choaspes stands Susa, where the great king fixes his residence, and where are his treasures. Master of that city, you may boldly vie with Jupiter himself for riches." Susa has been called *Memnonia*, or the palace of Memnon, because that prince reigned there. The poet Milton makes allusion to this, in a passage wherein he finely illustrates the road which Death and Satan made over chaos, by that which Xerxes made over the Hellespont.

"So, if great things to small may be compared,
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Susa, his Memnonium palace high,
Came to the sea; and, over Hellespont
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd
And scourged with many a stroke the indignant wave."

There has been much dispute concerning the site of Susa. That it stood upon the Eulæus (Ulia,) as well as upon the Choaspes, is generally allowed. Herodotus calls it the river of Choaspes, but he makes no mention of Eulæus, and he says that its waters were so pure and wholesome that the Persian kings drank of no other. Milton has confined the use of the waters of the Choaspes as a beverage to kings alone, instead of confining the kings to the use of those waters:

"There Susa by Choaspes' amber stream,
The drink of none but kings."*

* Jortin remarks upon this passage: "I am afraid Milton is here mistaken. That the kings of Persia drank no water but that of the river Choaspes is well known: that none *but* kings drank of it, is what, I

Usually, the city of Susa has been identified with Shuster; but Major Rennell, in which Kinneir, after recapitulating the arguments on both sides, agrees, preferred to find it at Shus, a city commencing about thirty-six miles more to the west, or nearer to Babylon. This is the most probable site of the ancient Susa, for Shuster is a modern city compared with Sus, or Susa, being founded by Schabour I., in commemoration of his victory over the Roman emperor Valerian; and oriental traditions state that Roman captives were employed in its erection. Besides, there are no rivers near Shuster corresponding to the Choaspes and the Eulæus, while the Kerah and the Ab-i-zal, which flow, the former to the west, and the latter to the east of the ruins of Sus, may be fairly presumed to be those ancient streams. Kinneir, speaking of the ruins of Sus, says: "On its long mounded tract, we indeed find the remains of the once favourite capital of Cyrus; that we see the classic Choaspes of Herodotus in the Kerah, the waters of which were sacred to the lip of majesty alone; and in its neighbouring river, the Ab-i-zal, we find the still more hallowed Eulæus, or Ulia, which the Scriptures describe as the scene of Daniel's prophetic vision: 'And it came to pass, I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulia,' Dan. viii. 2." Strabo, it may be added, speaks of the "rivers which pass by Susa," which Gosselin explains as having reference to the Choaspes and Eulæus, or Ulia, as different streams.

The ruins of Shus are very extensive, stretching about twelve miles from one extremity to the other. They extend as far as the eastern bank of the Kerah, occupy a large space between that river and the Ab-i-zal, and, like the ruins of Babylon, Ctesiphon, and Kufah, consist of hillocks of earth and rubbish, covered with broken pieces of brick and coloured tile; thereby corresponding to the ancient Susa, which was entirely built of brick, an additional proof that the ruins of Shus represent the ancient Susa, for Shuster is celebrated for its stone-erected houses, and for its quarries of stone.

The largest and most remarkable mounds in these ruins stand about two miles from Kerah. The first is computed to be a mile in circumference, and nearly 100 feet in height; and the other, although not quite so high, about double the cir-

believe cannot be proved." He concludes his criticism upon this passage by saying, that Milton, by his calling it "amber stream," seems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. But this is not probable, for Milton rarely commits errors in matters of history.

cuit of the former. They are composed of huge masses of sun-dried brick and courses of burned brick and mortar. Large blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, are frequently found here by the Arabs, who distinguish these two great mounds by the name of the Castle and the Palace; and they may be supposed to represent the celebrated fortress which Molon, after having won the city, was unable to take, and the palace of Susa.

At the foot of the most elevated of these mounds stands the tomb of Daniel, a small and apparently modern building, erected on the spot where the relics of that prophet are believed to rest. A dervise resides there, who points to the grave of "the man greatly beloved," with as much homage as if it belonged to the arch-impostor Mohammed himself, or to the Imaum Hosein. Though the tomb is comparatively a modern structure, the Jew, Arab, and Mussulman believe, from tradition, that it does indeed contain the remains of the prophet.

The earliest notice of the tomb of Daniel was given by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Asia towards the latter part of the thirteenth century. Latterly, Sir William Ouseley has written much upon the subject. He says, "The local tradition which fixes Daniel's tomb at Susa, seems worthy of investigation. Through the more modern authors of some oriental works, mostly geographical, I have pursued the tradition to Hamdalla Cazvini, of the fourteenth century, and from him through Benjamin of Tudela, to Ebn Hawkel, who travelled in the tenth century." The passage in Ebn Hawkel's work runs thus: "In the city of Sus there is a river, and I have heard that in the time of Abou Mousa al Ashari, a coffin was found there, and it is said the bones of Daniel the prophet (to whom be peace!) were in that coffin. These the people held in great veneration, and in time of distress of famine through drought, they brought them out and prayed for rain. Abou Mousa al Ashari ordered this coffin to be brought, and three coverings or lids to be made for it; the first or outside of which was of boards, exceedingly strong, and caused it to be buried, so that it could not be viewed. A bay or gulf of the river comes over this grave, which may be seen by any one who dives to the bottom of the water." Sir William Ouseley thus describes the tomb as it now exists: "I was finally driven by the heat to the tomb of Daniel, or, as he is called in the east, Danyall, which is situated in a most beautiful spot, washed by a clear running stream, and shaded by planes and other trees, of ample foliage. The

building is of Mohammedan date, and inhabited by a solitary dervise, who shows the spot where the prophet is buried, beneath a small and simple square brick mausoleum, said to be, without probability, coeval with his death. It has, however, neither date nor inscription to prove the truth or falsehood of the dervise's assertion. The small river running at the foot of this building, which is called the Bellaran, flows, it has been said, immediately over the prophet's tomb, and by the transparency of the water, his coffin was to be seen at the bottom. But the dervise and the natives whom I questioned remembered no tradition corroborating such a fact. It has at all times been customary with the people to resort hither on certain days of the month, when they offer up prayers at the tomb in supplication of the prophet's shade! and by becoming his guests for the night, expect remission of all present grievances, and an insurance against those to come."

This author has also given a translation of a Persian manuscript, in which the following superstitious legend occurs, relative to the tomb of Daniel: "Abou Mousa having pillaged the territory of Ahwaz, proceeded to Susa, where he slew the governor, a Persian prince, named Shapoor, the son of Azurmahan. Then he entered the castle and palace of that prince, and seized all the treasures there, deposited in different places, until he came to a certain chamber, the door of which was strongly fastened, a leaden seal being affixed to the lock. Abou Mousa inquired of the people of Sus what precious article was guarded with such care in this chamber. They assured him that he would not regard it as a desirable object of plunder; but his curiosity was roused, and he caused the lock to be broken, and the door to be opened. In the chamber he beheld a stone of considerable dimensions hollowed out into the form of a coffin, and in that the body of a dead man, wrapped in a shroud or winding sheet of gold brocade. The head was uncovered. Abou Mousa and his attendants were astonished; for having measured the nose, they found that proportionally he must have exceeded the common size of men. The people now informed Abou Mousa that this was the body of an ancient sage who formerly lived in Irak, and that whenever the want of rain occasioned a famine or scarcity, the inhabitants applied to this holy man, and through the efficacy of his prayers, obtained copious showers of rain from heaven. It happened afterwards that Sus also suffered from excessive drought, and the people in distress requested that their neighbours would allow this venerable personage to reside a few days among them,

expecting to derive the blessing of rain from his intercession with the Almighty; but the Irakians would not grant this request. Fifty men then went, deputed by the people of Sus, who again petitioned the ruler of Irak, saying, 'Let this holy person visit our country, and detain the fifty men until his return.' These terms were accepted, and the holy person came to Sus, where, through the influence of his prayers, rain fell in great abundance, and saved the land from famine; but the people would not permit him to return, and the fifty men were detained as hostages in Irak. Such, said those who accompanied Abou Mousa, is the history of the dead man. The Arabian general then asked them by what name this extraordinary personage had been known among them? They replied, 'The people of Irak called him Daniel Hakim, or Daniel the Sage.' After this, Abou Mousa remained some time in Sus, and despatched a messenger to Omar the Commander of the Faithful, with an account of all his conquests in Khuzistan, and of the various treasures that had fallen into his possession. He related also the discovery of Daniel's body. When Omar had received this account, he demanded from his chief officers some information concerning Daniel; but all were silent, except Ali, on whom be the blessing of God. He declared that Daniel had been a prophet, though not of the highest order; that in ages long since he had dwelt with Bakht al Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) and the kings who had succeeded him; and Ali related the whole of Daniel's history from the beginning to the end. Omar then, by the advice of his counsellor Ali, caused letters to be directed to Abou Mousa to remove, with due respect and veneration, the body of Daniel to some place where the people of Sus could no longer enjoy the possession of it. Abou Mousa, immediately on the receipt of this order, obliged the people of Sus to turn the stream which supplied them with water from its natural course. Then he brought forth the body of Daniel, and having wrapped it in another shroud of gold brocade, he commanded a grave to be made in the dry channel of the river, and therein deposited the venerable remains of the prophet. The grave was then firmly secured and covered with stones of considerable size; the river was restored to its wonted channel, and the waters of Sus now flow over the body of Daniel."

Sir John Kinneir, writing on this subject, says, "The city of Shus is now a gloomy wilderness, infested by lions, hyenas, and other beasts of prey. The dread of these furious animals

compelled Mr. Monteith and myself to take shelter for the night within the walls that encompass Daniel's tomb." To the same effect, Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, writes: "Every species of wild beast roams at large over that spot on which some of the proudest palaces ever raised by human art once stood." Yes, reader, they rove over the ruins of Susa, without one human being to dispute their reign, save the poor dervise who holds watch over the tomb of the prophet. The chambers of royalty where Ahasuerus exhibited the riches of his kingdom, "and the honour of his excellent majesty," for "an hundred and fourscore days," unto his princes and servants, the power of Media and Persia, with the nobles and princes of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, stretching from India even to Ethiopia, are now the abodes of the beasts of the desert. The voice of festive mirth, once heard in the gorgeous halls of Susa, is exchanged for the howlings of the lion, the wolf, and the hyena, as they roam abroad in quest of prey; while birds of evil note, as they fly over the ruins, give additional solemnity to the desolation. Alas! alas! for human grandeur!

When Major Monteith visited Sus, the dervise who watches the tomb of Daniel showed him several blocks of stone, curiously sculptured, and of great antiquity. The sides of one of these stones, which was a green granite, was covered with hieroglyphical figures, occupying five rows. The first row contained forms supposed to represent the sun, the moon, and one of the stars; the second, animals resembling a horse, a bird, and a dog; the third, a figure with the head and lower extremities of a tiger, the arms of a man, and the tail of a goat; the fourth, an animal resembling an antelope, a serpent, a scorpion, and the ornamented top of a staff or sceptre; and the fifth depicts a trident, two spears, a hawk, and some other bird, with a Greek cross. Two sides of the stone are occupied by inscriptions in the cuneiform character, which is scarcely legible. This is one of the principal remains of Susa.

ARIA.

This city, which is called by some ancient writers, Aritoana, Artacanda, Artacoana, and Bitaxa, and by Ptolemy, Aria, answers to the modern Heraut, which is situated in an ample plain of great fertility, and surrounded by lofty mountains. The situation of Heraut is placed differently on differ-

ent maps, and by different writers: in Kinneir's Memoir, in 34° 12′ N. latitude; by Captain Grant, 63° 14′; in Kinneir's map, 60° 55′ E. longitude; in Elphinstone's map of Caubul, in 34° 47′ N. latitude, and 61° 55′ E. longitude; in Rennell's map of the twenty satrapies of Darius Hystaspes, 61° 5′ E. longitude; and in D'Anville's map, 59° 34′ of the same. Concerning the ancient town, nothing is known; but Captain Grant says of Heraut, that the plain on which it stands is watered by an ample stream, crowded with villages teeming with population, and covered with fields of corn. The landscape receives additional beauty and variety from the numerous mosques, tombs, and other edifices, intermingled with trees and gardens, with which it is embellished, and the mountain slopes, by which it is surrounded. Heraut is situated in the modern province of Khorassan, and contains a population of 45,000. The city occupies an area of four square miles.

ZARANG.

Zarang, or Seistan, is identified by some geographers of high note, with the modern Dooshauk, or Jellallabad, which is about 260 miles due south from Heraut. This city is situated on the banks of the Ilmend, near its outlet into the lake of Durrah, and it is encompassed by ruins, testifying its ancient grandeur. Captain Christie saw those of a great bund, or dyke, called the "Bund of Rustum," the Persian Hercules. Zarang was chiefly desolated by Timur Bek, who obtained for himself a Goth-like celebrity for the destruction of cities, and the extermination of his fellow-men. He razed this city to its foundations, destroyed the edifice called the "Mound of Rustum," and left no traces of that ancient monument. Sheriffedin, in his Life of this destroyer, in the spirit of oriental romance, says, that a voice was heard, which invoked the soul of Rustum to arise from his resting place, and behold the calamities which had overtaken his country, in these words: "Lift up thy head; behold the condition of thy country, which is at length reduced by the power of the Tartars."

MARACANDA.

This city is supposed, with great probability, to be the modern

"Samarcand, by Oxus, Temar's throne,"—(Milton,)

which in Elphinstone's map is placed 230 British miles N. N. W. of Bactria, in 39° 37′ N. latitude, and nearly 65° E. longitude. It is situated on the southern side of the Sogd, which has its source in the ridge of Pamer, and which running south-west from the Beloot-Taugh, divides the waters south to the Oxus from those that run north to the Jaxartes. According to Curtius, when the city was besieged by Alexander, it was three leagues (or nine miles) in circumference. Afterwards it was much enlarged, and surrounded by a wall. It was taken by Jenghis Khan, A. D. 1220, after an obstinate resistance. Samarcand was the favourite residence of Timur Bek, and it is still the seat of an Usbeck-Khan, but its glory is departed.

NISÆA.

Strabo mentions this city among those of Hyrcania, and Ptolemy places it in Margiana. Rennell identifies it with the modern Naisabour, but it is more probably the modern Nesa. This has always been a city of note. It is situated between the mountains that bound the district of Toos, or Mesched, and the desert of Khowarasm; and fifty geographical miles south-east of Bawerd and twenty east of Kelat. It was taken by the Tartars under Jenghis Khan, A. D. 1220, when 70,000 of its inhabitants perished. It is supposed that the famed Nisæan horses and Nisæan plains derived their name from this city.

ZADRACARTA.

According to Arrian, this was the largest city of Hyrcania. The term signifies, "the yellow city;" and it was given to it from the great number of orange, lemon, and other fruit trees which grew in the environs of that city. Hence it is by D'Anville, Rochette, and other geographers, identified with Saru, which Pietro Della Valle says, in his Travels, signifies *yellow*. It is probable that Zadracarta and Saru are the same with the Syringis of Polybius, taken from Arsaces II. by Antiochus the Great, in his fruitless attempt to reunite the revolted provinces of Hyrcania and Parthia to the Syrian crown. Hanway, who visited Saru A. D. 1734, mentions four ancient Magian temples as still standing, built in the form of rotundas, each thirty feet in diameter, and near 120 in height. But Sir W. Ouseley, who was there in 1811, has pronounced these to be masses of brick masonry of the Mohammedan age.

One of them only is now standing, the others having been overturned by an earthquake. This and other remains of similar buildings, bear the names of Firedoon, Salm, Toor, and other mystic personages, whose celebrity had been established about 2000 years anterior to their erection. One of them was called the tomb of Kaus, and was supposed to contain the ashes of Cyrus. Sir William Ouseley thinks it was that of Kabus, or Kaus, the son of Washmakin, who governed Mazanderan in the fourth century of the Hejira. It was at Saru that the ashes of the youthful hero, Sohraub, were deposited by his father, Roostum, after he had unwittingly slain him in single combat. Saru is celebrated for its abundance of gardens, which emit a pleasing fragrance in the vernal and summer months. Oriental hyperbole declares, that the gates of paradise derive sweetness from the air of Saru, and the flowers of Eden their fragrance from its soil.

HECATOMPYLOS.

Hecatompylos, which was so called because of its hundred gates, or because all the roads in the Parthian dominions entered here, is the modern Damgan. Its distance from the Caspian Straits, in Kinneir's map, is 125 miles north-east; Rennell, however, makes it only seventy-eight geographical miles. This city was visited by Alexander in his pursuit of Darius. By some writers, Hecatompylos is identified with Ispahan, now one of the most populous towns of Persia; but it does not appear to be authenticated.

The above are all the towns of ancient Persia, concerning which any descriptive account can be offered to the reader. The names of many others will occur in the pages of this history, but little beyond the fact of their having once existed, is known. There are, it is true, the mouldering remnants of many cities scattered about the vast tracts of Persia; but they are not identified with any city whose names are in the pages of ancient historians, or if they be, little is known of their histories. Thus, at Mourghab, forty-nine miles N. N. E. of Istakher, are extensive ruins, resembling those of Persepolis, and in the neighbourhood of Firoze-abad, there are others seventeen miles in length, and half that distance in width, which have never been examined by European travellers. Ruins of considerable extent occur, also, in the neighbourhood of Darabgerd, and various other places. All these, and

more, occur in the single province of Farsistan, or the ancient Persis.

Reader, what shall we say to these things? Knowing all this, shall we look upon earth as our place of abode, and on the mighty cities that now teem with human kind as enduring in their natures? Rather let us point to Thebes, Babylon, Nineveh, Persepolis, and the many mighty cities of old that now embrace the earth, and say, "They shall one day be as these are." Nay, let us look upon our fair earth, and the sun which shines upon us by day, and the moon and the stars that give us light by night, and exclaim with holy awe, "These, also, mighty and beautiful as they are, and stable as they appear, are doomed to perish!" One great question arises out of this, which the poet has well supplied:—

"That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
When heaven and earth shall pass away,
What power shall be the sinner's stay?
How shall he meet that dreadful day?

"When shivering like a parched scroll,
The flaming heavens together roll:
When louder yet, and yet more dread,
Swells the high trump that wakes the dead:

"Oh! on that day, that wrathful day,
When man to judgment wakes from clay,
Be thou the trembling sinner's stay,
Though heaven and earth shall pass away!"

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF PERSIA.

THE government of the ancient Persians was monarchical, or regal, and the crown hereditary. At what date this form was adopted is unknown. Certain it is, however, that this form of government is the most ancient and prevalent, and, could the origin of that of Persia be traced, it would, doubtless, reach a remote period of time. But a veil is thrown over it by the romantic account of Persia given by the early Persian writers, Mirkhond and Ferdusi, a veil which modern historians would in vain attempt to throw aside. That which is known, is handed down to our age by the Greek historians, who knew little of Persia before the era of Cyrus. From these writers, therefore, is chiefly derived the following information concerning the polity of Persia, which, for the sake of distinctness, is classed under several heads.

THE KINGLY POWER.

Eastern monarchs have ever been despots, regarding their subjects generally as slaves. Such were the kings of Persia. They lorded it over their subjects with so high a hand, that they were looked upon as more than mortal: they were regarded, in fact, as the image and vicegerents of the Deity on earth. Hence it was that their subjects paid them such extraordinary and culpable honours. "The great king," and "the king of kings," were the common titles given to the Persian monarchs, and divine honours were paid to them by all ranks of Persia. None dared approach them without that humble prostration due to the Majesty of heaven alone.

> Who bows the knee to man
> As a divinity, deprives the God
> Who made him and preserves him, of his rights:
> For to that end was he created man.

Reverence to majesty should proceed from civil obligations alone, not from adoration of their persons. Beyond this, it savours of idolatry.

It was not only of their own subjects that the kings of Persia exacted this homage, but of strangers likewise. Herodotus, relating the circumstance of two Spartans being sent to Xerxes, as an atonement for the destruction of his ambassadors, who had been sent to demand of them "earth and water," as a token of their submission to this haughty monarch, says: "When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered by the guards to fall prostrate, and adore the king, and some force was used to compel them. But this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose, that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these words: 'King of the Medes, (or Persians,*) we are sent by our countrymen to make atonement for those ambassadors who perished at Sparta.'" And the haughty monarch was obliged to yield to their inflexibility.

This conduct was uniformly the disposition of the Greeks, with the exception of Themistocles, and one or two others. Valerius Maximus says, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having complied with the demands of the Persian court, was by his countrymen condemned to die, thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness. And Ælian reports, that Ismenias, the Theban, declined it, by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to recover it.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him, must have been paid the king of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him. From a comparison with the above remarks, this will appear to be erroneous; for if the Greeks could gain access without, why should not Ezra and Nehemiah? It is probable, that the king of Persia, with whom these holy men had to do, knowing the peculiarity of their manners and their religion, would have ceded much to them which the haughty Xerxes would have denied to the Greeks. At all events, if they did act thus, it was from civil obligations alone, not from

* The Persians were usually comprehended by ancient writers, under the name of Medes.

a feeling of idolatry; for we know that Mordecai was sufficiently inflexible, as not to pay undue honours to Haman.

It is certainly right for subjects to pay due respect to majesty. Respect, nay, reverence is due to the supreme power, because it cometh from God, and is ordained for the welfare of the conmunity. "Render therefore," says the great apostle of the Gentiles, "to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour," Rom. xiii. 7. Where no respect is paid to the "higher powers," there anarchy prevails, with all its concomitant evils. In the time of paganism, however, this homage and honour were carried beyond due bounds. It is the Christian religion alone that has taught mankind how to act worthily before God and man on this point. It is true, not all that are Christians in name, act towards their rulers as the doctrines of Christianity inculcate. Far, very far from this is the actual fact. And whence does this arise? Is it not from a laxity of moral training?

"The discipline of slavery is unknown
Among us: hence the more do we require
The discipline of virtue; order else
Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.
Thus duties rising out of good possessed,
And prudent caution needful to avert
Impending evil, equally require
That the whole people should be taught and trained:
So shall licentiousness and black resolve
Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take
Their place; and genuine piety descend,
Like an inheritance, from age to age."
WORDSWORTH.

The crown of Persia was hereditary, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest. When an heir to the crown was born, the whole empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, etc.; and his birthday was thenceforward an annual festival and a day of solemnity throughout the whole empire.

When the reigning monarch undertook long or dangerous expeditions, in order to avoid all disputes, it was customary for him to name the heir apparent before he commenced his march. The new king was crowned by the priests at Pasagardæ. The ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war, where the king used first of all to clothe himself with the garment which Cyrus had worn before he was exalted to the throne. Xenoohon thus describes this garment:

"Cyrus himself then appeared, wearing a turban, which was raised high above his head, with a vest of purple colour, half mixed with white, and this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear. On his legs he had yellow buskins, his outer robe was wholly of purple, and about his turban was a diadem or wreath." Being thus attired, he ate some figs, with a small quantity of turpentine, and drank a full cup of sour milk. The crown was then placed upon his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary. Round the crown the king wore a purple and white band or diadem, which crown and diadem were the only signs of royalty used by the earlier Persian monarchs.

The manner of educating the heir apparent of the empire of Persia is extolled by Plato, who proposed it to the Greeks as a perfect model for the education of a prince. Their routine of education was as follows:—Shortly after his birth, he was committed to the care of the eunuchs, chief officers of the household, who were charged with the care of his health, and person, and with the duty of forming his manners and behaviour. When seven years of age, he was taken from these officers, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him horsemanship, and to exercise him in hunting. At fourteen years of age, when the mind approaches maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first taught him magic, that is, the worship of their gods, according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second taught him to speak truth, and the principles of justice. The duty of the third was to teach him not to suffer himself to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be a king in truth, always free, and master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify the courage of the young prince against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his peculiar department, adding their own examples to their precepts, thereby acting upon that self-evident truth, that, "words instruct, but examples persuade effectually."

But "evil communications corrupt good manners." Plato remarks, that all this care was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of officers that waited upon

him with servile submission; by all the appurtenances, and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure and the invention of new diversions engrossed all attention. These are dangers which the most excellent disposition, at least under the pagan system of moral training, could never surmount. The corrupt manners, therefore, of the nation, quickly depraved the mind of the prince, and drew him into a vortex of pleasures, against which no education can form an effectual barrier.

"Religion! the sole voucher man is man;
Supporter sole of man above himself:
Even in this night of frailty, change, and death,
She gives a soul, (and she alone,) a soul that acts a god."
YOUNG.

But the religion that performs so stupendous a work as this, is the religion of the Bible, which teaches us the gospel of Christ. That of Zoroaster, with all its rites, ceremonies, and fancied perfections, lifted not one of its myriads of devotees above the things of time and sense, the low and grovelling pleasures in which human nature is prone to indulge. It found man debased, it drew him far lower down into the depths of human degradation.

The palace of the kings of Persia had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was to defend the person of the king, and to inform him of whatever they saw or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were expressively termed "the king's ears," and "the king's eyes." To these messengers, all intelligence worthy of note was sent from the remotest provinces of the empire, and they also received immediate intelligence of sudden commotions, by means of beacon fires, which were always ready at certain distances, and lighted as occasion required. The guards which attended the king's person consisted of 15,000 men. These were called the king's relations. There was, also, a body of 10,000 chosen horsemen, who accompanied him in his expeditions, and were called "immortal," that number being constantly kept up. These guards received no pay, but were amply provided with the necessaries of life.

The Persian monarchs drank no other water but that of the river Choaspes, which was carried about with them in silver vessels. According to Xenophon, the Persians were, in the early period of their history, a temperate and sober people. In the time of Herodotus, however, they drank pro-

fusely; and it is certain, that in later ages, the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mohammed. Anciently their kings drank only a peculiar wine made at Damascus. The magnificence of the public feasts of the kings of Persia exceeded, as may be seen from Esther i., any thing that we read of in the histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with something from each nation subject to them. During their repast, they were entertained with the harmony of both vocal and instrumental music.

The king of Persia seldom admitted to his table any one besides his wife and mother. When he did, the guests were so placed, as not to see, but only to be seen by the king; for they imagined it was a degradation of majesty to let their people see that they were subject to the common appetites of nature. This desire of appearing superior to mankind, was the ruling motive of their non-appearance in public. It was rarely that they left the precincts of the palace. Their manner of living may be seen in the interesting book of Esther. Tully says, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of their favourite concubines; and Socrates relates, that one country was called "the queen's girdle," and another, "the queen's head-dress."

In the three books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, there are many passages which intimate the care taken by the Persian government to register every occurrence. All that the king said, indeed, was deemed worthy of registration. He was usually surrounded by scribes, who took note of his words and actions. They were rarely absent from him, and always attended him when he appeared in public. They were present at his festivals, his reviews of the army, and in the tumult of battle, at which times they registered whatever words fell from him on those occasions. They were charged, also, with the registration of edicts and ordinances, which were written in the king's presence, sealed with his signet ring, and then despatched by couriers. These royal journals or chronicles of Persia were deposited at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, and they formed the archives of this people. They have all perished except the few extracts preserved in the books of Scripture pointed out, and in the older Greek historians. From a transaction recorded Esther vi. 1, it would appear that these journals were sometimes read to the Persian monarchs.

There are many allusions to the above custom in the works of ancient writers. Herodotus, in describing the review made

by Xerxes of his army, states that he was attended by secretaries, who wrote down the various answers he received to the questions which he put as he rode along the ranks in his chariot. He further states that this monarch, when seated on Mount Ægaleos to view the battle of Salamis, caused his secretaries to note down the names of such as distinguished themselves in the strife, with the city wherein they lived. A similar custom prevails in oriental countries to this day. Travellers of the middle ages, in their descriptions of the Mougol emperors, tell us that when they dined, four secretaries were seated under their table to write down their words, which they never might revoke.

Another officer of importance in the king's household was his cup-bearer. This is shown by several passages in the book of Nehemiah, and in the works both of Herodotus and Xenophon. The prophet Nehemiah was, indeed, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, and the allusions he makes to his office is well illustrated by profane authors. Xenophon, in particular, affords some interesting explanations concerning this office, and the manner in which its functions were discharged. Speaking of the cup-bearer of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, he describes him as the most favoured of the king's household officers; and he adds that he was a very handsome man, and that it was his duty to introduce to the king those who came upon business, and to send away those who applied for an interview whom he, the cup-bearer, did not deem it seasonable to introduce. This alone must have made the cup-bearer a person of high consideration at the court of Persia. The emoluments of the office appear to have been very great; for they enabled Nehemiah to sustain for many years the state and hospitality of the government of the Jews from his own private purse. Xenophon admires the manner in which these cup-bearers discharged their office. From his description, it seems that the cup was held in the presence of the monarch, and, being filled, was presented to him on three fingers. This account is explained by the existing customs in the east, and by the sculptures of Persepolis. These sculptures comprehend a great number of figures, bearing cups and vases of different forms and uses, none of which are grasped, as in European countries. If the bearer has but one article, he carries it between both hands, (resting it upon his left hand, and placing his right hand lightly upon it, to prevent it from falling,) with a peculiar grace of action; if he has two, he bears one upon the palm of each hand. It was the duty of

the cup-bearer to take some of the wine from the cup presented to the king into his left hand, and drink it, to assure the monarch against poison.

It appears from the book of Esther that the Persian kings had but one queen, properly so called. From the same book, however, and from common history, it may be gathered that there were a considerable number of secondary wives and other females, who had not attained to this distinction. With some slight differences, similar distinctions continue to prevail in the harem, or family of the rulers of Persia. The principal difference is, that the king has several legal wives, besides those of a secondary class, and that they now appear to have daily access to his presence, which the history of Esther shows was not the case anciently. The accommodation and attendance of the women varies according to their rank. Sir J. Malcolm says, that "the first business of the king of Persia in the morning, after he is risen, is to sit from one or two hours in the hall of the harem, where his levees are conducted with the same ceremony as in his outer apartment. Female officers arrange the crowd of his wives and slaves with the strictest attention to the order of precedency. After hearing the reports of those entrusted with the internal government of the harem, and consulting with his principal wives, who are generally seated, the monarch leaves the interior apartments."

According to the Greek historians, none were admitted to the king without being called; but they do not appear to have known that queens and princesses were included in the application of this rule. From Esther iv. 11, we find that they were so: and the rule seems to have been that even when the king was in his outer apartments, none might enter uncalled or unannounced; and that when in his interior residence, not even the queen might appear unbidden; none except the seven princes, "who saw the king's face," might appear before him without ceremony. And even these were not admitted when any of the king's wives were with him, which restriction enabled the king to see them when and as little as he thought proper. Herodotus relates, that one of the privileged nobles who disbelieved this excuse of two door-keepers for not admitting him into the presence of the monarch, cut off their ears and noses, for which act he and his family, except his wife and eldest son, were punished with death.

On some occasions, this law seems to have been infringed. Thus Esther, urgently requested by Mordecai, to save her

nation from the destruction meditated by the wicked Haman, and decreed by Ahasuerus when inflamed with wine, stood "in the inner court of the king's house." But then, though death was the law for such an offence, the king might set this aside by holding out the golden sceptre, that the offender might live. Such favour was shown to Esther; otherwise, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, her life must have been the forfeit of her temerity.

After having thus shown her favour, the king promised Esther that whatever might be her request it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; a form of speech which has reference to the custom among the ancient kings of Persia in bestowing grants and pensions to their favourites. These grants were not by payment of money from the treasury, but by charges upon the revenues of particular provinces or cities. Thus when Xerxes wished to make a provision for Themistocles, he gave him the city of Magnesia for his bread, Myonta for his meat and other victuals, and Lampsacus for his wine. This may explain the observations before made with reference to the queens of Persia possessing particular provinces, and the phrase of giving "unto the half of the kingdom." It may also suggest some idea of the cost and splendour of the dresses of the queens of Persia.

Concerning the king's own apparel, there are some interesting allusions made in Esther vi. From thence we learn that the privilege of wearing such a dress formed a permanent distinction of a very high order. It was a distinction that even the great counsellor Haman aspired unto. When the monarch interrogated him thus, "What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour?" supposing that the honour was intended for himself, the ambitious courtier rejoined, "For the man whom the king delighteh to honour, let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head: and let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honour, and bring him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour," Esther vi. 7—9. Haman knew that it was death for any one to wear the king's own robe, and that such an honour was calculated to express the most pre-eminent favour and distinction, and render it visible to all the people, and

therefore it was he made the proposal. As much may be said of "the horse that the king rideth upon," and "the crown royal which is set upon his head." It was unlawful for any one to ride on the king's own horse, and a capital crime to wear the same turban or crown which the king wore, or even such as he wore. Arrian relates, that when Alexander was sailing on the Euphrates, his turban fell off among some reeds. One of the rowers jumped out, and swam to recover it: but finding that he could not carry it back in his hand without wetting it, he put it upon his head, and brought it safely to the boat. The monarch gave him a talent of silver for his zeal, and then ordered his head to be struck off, for setting the diadem thereon. This story emphatically illustrates the foregoing observations.

The distinctions of Persian royalty are thus enumerated by Statius:—

> "When some youth of royal blood succeeds
> To his paternal crown, and rules the Medes,
> His slender grasp, he fears will ill contain
> The weighty septre, and the bow sustain;
> And trembling takes the courser's reins in hand,
> And huge tiara, badge of high command."—Lewis.

Concerning the sceptre, it is evident from Scripture and the writings of profane historians, that the kings of Persia used one on great occasions. Xenophon makes Cyrus say among other things to Cambyses, his son and appointed successor, "Know Cambyses, that it is not the *golden sceptre* which can preserve your kingdom; but faithful friends are a prince's truest and securest sceptre." In the Persepolitan sculptures, however, the figures of the king are invariably represented as bearing a long staff in his hand. The crown of the kings of Persia may be illustrated by the description which Morier gives of the magnificent tiara of Futteh Ali Shah, king of Persia. "The king," says he, "was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him. A lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the great king. It was entirely composed of thickly set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours, in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers, like the heron-plume, were intermixed with the splendid aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were furnished with pear-formed pearls of immense size." The usual

head-dress of modern Persian monarchs is a plain black cap, which probably bears a similar relation to this crown, as the plain cap on the Persepolitan sculptures bore to the ancient state crown of their mighty predecessors.

In concluding this article, it may be mentioned, that the birthdays of the kings of Persia were kept sacred, and celebrated with public sports, in the utmost pomp and magnificence. Their deaths were bewailed by the closing of the tribunals of justice for five days, and by extinguishing the fire which was worshipped in families as a household god ; on which occasion alone they submitted to such a calamity. They were deposited in rocky vaults, as in the tombs at Naksh-i-Rustam, and Nakh-i-Rejeb, a privilege, as will be seen in a future page, particularly their own.*

THE SEVEN STATE COUNSELLORS.

Absolute as was the regal authority among the Persians, yet it was, to a certain degree, kept within due bounds by the establishment of a council, which consisted of seven of the chief men of the nation, distinguished no less by their wisdom and abilities, than by their illustrious birth. This establishment had its origin in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis, the magician, and slew him. These noblemen stipulated with Darius Hystaspes, whom they placed on the throne, for the most distinguished honours and extraordinary privileges.

These counsellors possessed great power. This may be seen by the letter written by Artaxerxes to Ezra, wherein he constantly associates himself with these seven counsellors: "Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and at such a time. I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and of his priests and Levites, in my realm, which are minded of their own freewill to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee. Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his *seven counsellors*, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand ; and to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsel-

* For further remarks on the kingly power of Persia, the reader is referred to the corresponding section of the History of the Assyrians ; for the Persian monarchs were the prototypes of the Assyrian monarchs ; so were the Parthian those of the Persians.

lors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem, and all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the freewill offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem; that thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat offerings, and their drink offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem," etc. Ezra vii. 12—26.

These counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and manners of the state. They always attended the king, who never transacted anything, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice. This may be gathered from a transaction recorded in the first chapter of the book of Esther. The writer of that book, after having stated the refractory conduct of queen Vashti, represents Ahasuerus as seeking the advice of these seven counsellors. "Then the king said to the wise men, which knew the times, (for so was the king's manner toward all that knew law and judgment: and the next unto him was Carshena, Shethar, Admatha, Tarshish, Meres, Marsena, and Memucan, the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom;) What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law, because she hath not performed the commandment of the king Ahasuerus by the chamberlains? And Memucan answered before the king and the princes, Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the people that are in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus. For this deed of the queen shall come abroad unto all women, so that they shall despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus commanded Vashti the queen to be brought in before him, but she came not. Likewise shall the ladies of Persia and Media say this day unto all the king's princes, which have heard of the deed of the queen. Thus shall there arise too much contempt and wrath. If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment from him, and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, that it be not altered, That Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus, and let the king give her royal estate unto another that is better than she. And when the king's decree which he shall make shall be published throughout all his empire, (for it is great,) all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and

small." Ahasuerus was pleased with this counsel, and adopted it. See Esther i. 9—22.

Among the sculptures at Nash-i-Rustam, there is one which exhibits a king in apparent conference with seven men, one queenly looking lady also being present, which aptly illustrates the foregoing extract. It belongs, however, to a later period than the era of Ahasuerus.

This council did not interfere with the king's prerogative of ruling and commanding: it was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. To them the king transferred several weighty cases, which otherwise might have been a burden to him, and by them he executed whatever measures had been adopted in the council. It was, in fact, by means of this standing council, that the maxims of the state were preserved, the knowledge of its interests perpetuated, affairs harmoniously conducted, and innovations, errors, and oversights prevented. This leads us to notice

THE ADMINISTRATIVE POWER.

The terms king and judge are synonymous. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power the highest authority for the administration of justice. The duties of a king are well defined in the queen of Sheba's address to king Solomon. "Blessed," said she, "be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, *to do judgment and justice*," 1 Kings x. 9. The Almighty hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. "For rulers," saith the apostle, "are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil," Rom. xiii. 3, 4.

What is that justice which God hath entrusted to the hands of monarchs? and wherefore hath he made them his delegates? The poet says,

> "Order is Heaven's first law, and this confessed,
> Some are, and must be greater than the rest;
> More rich, more wise."

To this end kings reign, that order may be preserved in a state. And this order consists in observing a general equity, and taking care that brute force does not usurp the place of law: that the property of one man should not be exposed to the violence of another, that the union of society be not broken, that artifice and fraud do not prevail over innocence and simplicity, that society should rest in peace under the protection of the laws, and that the weakest and poorest should find a sanctuary in the public authority.

Josephus says that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. For this reason, they never ascended the throne till they had been instructed by the magi, in the principles of justice and equity. These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity, and though the kings of Persia were transcendently vicious in other respects, yet were they very scrupulous, and very tender in the discharge of these duties. After hearing the merits of the cause, they took several days to consider and advise with the magi, before they gave sentence. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and they condemned or acquitted him, according as his crimes or deserts prevailed.

Though the kings of Persia may in many instances have administered justice in their own persons, it cannot be supposed that in so mighty an empire they could sit in judgment on every case. Besides the king, there were, indeed, several judges, all men of unblemished characters, and skilful in the laws of the kingdom. These were called "royal judges," and they administered justice at stated times, in different provinces. Some of these judges attended the king wherever he sojourned. The king often advised with them; and in matters concerning himself, referred the whole to their judgment. They were nominated by the king, and, as the employment was for life, great care was taken to prefer only such as were famed for their integrity. Delinquency on the part of judges was punished with extreme severity. Herodotus says, that one of the royal judges having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin placed upon the seat of justice. He adds what is most revolting, that the son succeeded his father in his seat.

According to Xenophon, the ordinary judges of Persia were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were

admitted till the age of fifty years. A man, therefore, could not exercise the office of judge before that age; the Persians being of opinion that a fully matured mind was required in an employment, which decided upon the fortunes, reputations, and lives of the community.

Amongst the Persians, it was not lawful either for a private person to put his slave to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; the crime being considered rather the effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind. They thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil into the scales of justice: and they deemed it unjust that the good actions of a man should be obliterated by a single crime. It was upon this principle that Darius revoked the sentence he had passed upon one of his judges for some prevarication in his office, at the very moment he was going to be executed; acknowledging that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

One essential rule which the Persians observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser, and without giving him time and the means necessary for his defence; and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the same punishment upon the accuser, as the accused would have suffered, had he been found guilty. Diodorus relates an incident that will illustrate this. One of the favourites of Artaxerxes, ambitious of possessing a place possessed by a superior officer, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer. To this end, he sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king would believe and act upon the report without examination of the matter. The officer was imprisoned, but he desired of the king before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king complied with the request, and as there was no evidence but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was acquitted. The king's indignation then fell upon the accuser, and the innocent thereby was shielded from the artifice and cruelty of calumny and violence.

Another memorable example of firmness and the love of justice in the monarchs of Persia, is recorded in the book of Esther. When the eyes of Ahasuerus were opened to the dark designs of the wicked Haman, who had obtained from

him an edict for the destruction of the Jews, he made haste to atone for his fault, by publishing another edict, permitting the Jews to stand up in their own defence, by punishing Haman, and by a public acknowledgment of his error.

The Persians, says Herodotus, hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence: next to which they esteem it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons as for the temptations to falsehood, which they think it necessarily introduces. But it would not appear that the Persians were at all times so scrupulous about falsehood. Deceit and falsehood are charges which to this day they do not deny. "Believe me; for though I am a Persian, I am speaking truth," is an exclamation commonly used to those who doubt their veracity, and there are few travellers who do not bear testimony to their proneness to falsehood and venality. Herodotus himself makes Darius utter this sentiment, "If a falsehood must be spoken, let it be so;" on which Larcher observes, "This morality is not very rigid; but it ought to be remembered, that Herodotus is here speaking of falsehood, which operates to no one's injury." But when it is remembered that one of the first rudiments of Persian education was to speak the truth, this departure from it on the part of Darius must appear very remarkable. His delinquency seems to have been founded upon that principle, which even some of our gravest moralists have taught, namely, that "there may be occasions in which a deviation from strict truth is venial." But this is *not* true. In Scripture, the liar is enumerated with those whose portion is the bitter cup of everlasting torments; and no extenuating circumstances are taken into the account. Besides, should this be allowed, irreparable mischief would be inflicted on society. "A liar," says an old writer, "is a public nuisance: he disheartens belief, makes reality suspected, and one honest man a stranger to the other." To sanction this evil, therefore, by the weight of a man's reputation for gravity and wisdom, is to commit a crime of no ordinary magnitude. The psalmist well knew the enormity of this vice: hence it was that he exclaimed,

"He that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight."—*Psa.* ci. 7.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

The provinces of Persia have been described in a previous portion of this history. (See page 9.) In this section will be described the government of those provinces.

The sacred writer in the book of Daniel says, "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom; and over these three presidents," Dan. vi. 1, 2. The princes here mentioned were the governors of the provinces. They were called satraps; and they were the most considerable persons in the kingdom; being second to none but the monarch, and the three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, and to whom they gave an account of the affairs of their respective provinces. That they might be able to maintain a proper dignity, without which respect languishes, Cyrus assigned to these satraps revenues proportioned to their station and high employment. He did not allow them, however, to exceed the bounds of prudence and moderation. And lest precept should be of no avail, he set them an example in this respect. He so regulated his court, that the same order which reigned there might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satraps, and in every noble family in his empire. To prevent, as far as possible, all abuses of their extensive authority, the king reserved to himself the right of nominating the satraps, and ordained that all governors of places, commanders of armies, etc., should depend upon himself alone. From him they received their instructions, and if they abused their power, from him also they received punishment.

In order to maintain a close communication with the satraps of these provinces, and to keep a strict watch over their conduct, Cyrus devised a plan for facilitating the intercourse between himself and them. After having ascertained how far a good horse might go in a day, with ease and expedition, he caused stables to be erected at determined distances, each with a suitable establishment of horses, and men to take care of them. Postmasters were also stationed at these stages, whose duty it was to receive the packets as they arrived, and immediately forward them with fresh horses and couriers. This custom is referred to, Esth. viii. 10. After having related that Ahasuerus granted the Jews to defend themselves against the wicked machinations of Haman, the sacred writer says, that Mordecai "sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries." These posts of the ancient Persians travelled night and day without intermission, and so quickly did they perform their journey, that it was said, proverbially, that they flew swifter than cranes. This proverb may, however, refer more especially to the

"swift dromedary," or "the ship of the desert," the camel; for it is said of the former especially, that it will in one night, and through a level country, traverse as much ground as any ordinary horse can in ten. "A dromedary," says Jackson, in his work on Morocco, "has been known to travel two hundred miles in less than twenty hours." Hence we see the wisdom of Esther's messengers in choosing it to carry their despatches to the distant provinces of the Persian empire, for the existence of her nation was at stake.

These posting establishments of ancient Persia may receive illustration from those of the Mougol empire. According to Marco Polo, there were roads extending to every part of this empire from the capital, Cambalu, having post-houses, with suitable furniture, at every twenty-five or thirty miles. Altogether, there were ten thousand of these stations, with two hundred thousand horses. The post ran two hundred, and sometimes two hundred and fifty miles in a day, especially in cases of rebellion, or other urgent occasions. There were other stations, consisting of a few dwellings, three or four miles asunder, occupied by runners, or foot-posts, who, being girded, and well trained to their employment, ran as fast as horses. In dark nights, these foot-posts ran before the horsemen with links to light them along. Sometimes they carried letters, mandates, and parcels to or from the khan, who thus received news in two days from places ten stages distant, as from Kambalu to Shantu.

The fact of the ancient Persians sending letters by posts, it may be remarked, is one well calculated to engage the attention of those who feel interested in studying the progress of society in the arts of convenience and civilization. And who is there that does not feel an interest in these arts—arts which are so essential to the comforts of life, and without which a community cannot flourish?

"'Tis genial intercourse, and mutual aid,
Cheers what were else an universal shade,
Calls Nature from her ivy-mantled den,
And softens human rockwork into men."—COWPER.

The care of the provinces of Persia was not left entirely to the satraps. The king himself was obliged personally, by ancient custom, to visit the provinces at stated periods, being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure a prince can enjoy, is from

time to time to let them see their common parent, to reconcile the dissensions and animosities of rival cities, to calm commotions amongst his subjects, to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates, and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity.

When the monarch of Persia was not able to visit the provinces himself, he commissioned some of his nobles, men eminent for wisdom and virtue, to act as his representatives. These were called "the eyes" and "the ears" of the prince, because through them he saw and was informed of every thing. These denominations, also, served as an admonition to the king, as well as to his representatives. It admonished the one that he had his ministers as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should be idle, but act by their means; it admonished the others, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the monarch, and for the advantage of the community.

The detail of affairs which the king or his representatives entered into, when he or they visited the provinces, is worthy of admiration, and shows that they understood wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. Their attention was not directed to great matters alone, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce: but to minor matters, as the security and beauty of towns; the convenient habitations of his subjects; the repairs of roads, bridges, and causeways; the preserving of woods and forests; and, above all, the improvement of agriculture. This latter science engaged the Persian monarch's peculiar care. Those satraps, whose provinces were best cultivated, enjoyed his peculiar favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military department, so there were offices erected for the regulation of rural labours and economy. Both were protected, because both concurred for the public good: the one for its safety, the other for its sustenance. For if the earth cannot be cultivated without the protection of armies, so neither can armies be fed and maintained, without the labour of the husbandman. It was with good reason, therefore, that the Persian monarchs caused an exact account to be given them, how every province and district was cultivated, that they might know whether each country produced as much fruits as it was capable of producing. Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, that he informed himself whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit, and that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces, or districts,

were the best cultivated, and punished those who suffered their grounds to lie barren.

How much the Persian princes were attached to the arts of agriculture, may be seen from a conversation held between Lysander, the Lacedemonian, and Cyrus the younger, as related by Xenophon, and beautifully applied by Cicero. Cyrus conducted his illustrious guest through his gardens, and pointed out the various beauties they presented.

Lysander was charmed with the prospect, and admired the taste displayed in the arrangement of the gardens, the height of the trees, the neatness of the walks, the abundance of the fruit trees, planted chequer-wise, and the innumerable and diversified flowers every where exhaling their odours. "Every thing," he exclaimed, "transports me in this place; but what most interests me is the exquisite judgment and elegant perception of the artist who planned these gardens, and gave them the fine order, the wonderful disposition, and happiness of symmetry, which cannot be too much admired."

Pleased with the eulogy, Cyrus replied, "It was I who planned the gardens, and with my own hand planted many of the trees around you."

"What?" exclamed Lysander, surveying Cyrus deliberately from head to foot, "is it possible that with these purple robes and splendid vestments, these strings of jewels, and bracelets of gold, and those buskins so richly embroidered,—is it possible that *you* could play the gardener, and employ your royal hands in planting trees?"

"Does that surprise you?" Cyrus rejoined; "I swear by the god Mithras, that when my health admits, I never sit down to table without having made myself sweat with some fatigue or other; either in military exercise, rural labour, or other toilsome employments, to which I apply with pleasure and without sparing myself."

Lysander pressed the hand of the prince, and replied: "Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because with all thy happiness and prosperity, thou art also virtuous."

Mention has been made, (page 11,) of the revenues which the provinces of Persia produced. In addition to the remarks there made, it may be added, that the revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in the levying of taxes imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with the products of the earth in kind, as corn and other provisions, for-

age, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. Strabo relates that the satrap of Armenia sent annually to the king 20,000 young colts; by which a judgment may be formed of the other levies in the several provinces. These tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations; the Persians, properly so called, were exempt from all imposts.

The different species of tribute which the Persian monarchs received, may be illustrated from a curious document taken verbatim from a register made by Ahmed Ebn Mohammed, Ebn Abdul Hamed, employed in the finances during the khalifate of the renowned Abou Abdallah al Mamoun.

REVENUE OF THE KHALIF AL MAMOUN.

In natural productions and effects.

From Bahrein, 200 rich habits.

From the district of Thenetan, 240 rotoli of terra Sigillala, each rotolus at 130 dramchs, (about half a pound weight.)

Ahwaz, sugar, 30,000 rotoli.

Kerman, 500 rich habits; dates, 20,000 rotoli; sind, (probably senna,) 1000 rotoli; Indian aloes, 150 rotoli.

Fars, 5000 bottles of rose-water; 10,000 rotoli of olive oil.

Sigistan, 5000 pieces of brocade; 20,000 rotoli of sugar.

Khorassan, 2000 plates of silver; 4000 horses; 1000 slaves; 27,000 pieces of silk stuffs; 3000 rotoli of myrobolans.

Djordjan, 1000 bundles of silk.

Khoremis, 1000 plates of silver.

Tabristan, Rouyan, Nehavend, 600 carpets; 200 robes; 500 habits; 300 handkerchiefs; and 300 napkins for the bath.

Rei, 20,000 rotoli of honey.

Hamadan, 1000 rotoli of preserves, called roboss pomegranates; 120,000 rotoli of the purest honey.

Moussoul, 1000 rotoli of white honey.

Kilan, 1000 slaves; 200 borachios of honey; 10 pieces; 20 robes.

Armenia, 20 carpets; 10,000 rotoli of oranges; 200 mules.

Kinnisrin, 1000 loads of dried raisins.

Palestine, 500,000 rotoli of dried raisins.

Africa, 120 carpets.

	Dirhems.*
The essouad of the districts of Basra gave in grain, the value of	27,780,000
In money,	14,800,000
Kosker,	11,600,000
Kordidjle,	20,800,000
Holwan,	4,800,000
Ahwaz,	23,000
Fars,	27,000,000
Kerman,	4,200,000
Mekran,	400,000
Sind,	11,500,000
Sigistan,	4,000,000
Khorassan,	28,000,000
Jorjan,	12,000,000
Kumis,	1,500,000
Tabristan, Rouyan, and Nehavend,	6,300,000
Rei,	12,000,000
Hamadan,	11,800,000
District between Basra and Cufar,	1,700.000
Sheheressoul,	6,000,000
Masanderan,	4,000,000
Moussoul,	24,000,000
Aderbijan,	4,000,000
Al Jezeera,	4,000,000
Alkerah,	300,000
Ghilan,	5,000,000
Armenia,	13,000,000
Barca,	1,000,000
Africa Proper,	15,000,000
Total of dirhems	276,503,000
	Dinars.
Kinnisrin,	400,000
District of the Jordan,	96,000
Palestine,	320,000
Egypt,	1,920,000
Yemen,	370,000
Damascus,	420,000
Hedjaz,	300,000
Total of dinars	3,826,000

* The dirhem is supposed to have been in value four shillings.

The entire revenue of the khalifate, therefore, was 276,503-000 dirhems, and 3,826,000 dinars; which if we reckon the dirhem equal to four-tenths of a dinar, or the dinar equal to three-sevenths of a dirhem, will give about the sum of 280,-000,000 dirhems. It is impossible to estimate this sum in English money correctly, because the true value of the dirhem is unknown; but estimating it at its most probable value, four shillings, it will give the sum of 56,000,000*l.* sterling, or 2,000,000*l.* less than the revenue of Alexander from his Persian conquests.

Taking the above document as indicative of the revenues of Persia, it would appear that the statement of Herodotus, namely, that the revenues of that empire fell short of three millions sterling, was incorrect. It might be, that no more was paid in money; but in the fruits of the earth, etc., a very large revenue accrued to the kings of Persia. This would solve a difficulty at which so many stumble, rightly deeming it a wonder, how so vast an empire could be conducted with so small a revenue. And this wonder is increased when we reflect how immensely rich the monarchs of Persia were. Each province, it would appear, had its peculiar treasure and treasurer. Both sacred and profane history bear testimony to this fact, and from the large sums which Alexander found in several provinces of Persia, when he overthrew that mighty empire, it is evident that their treasures were indeed vast. Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, and Plutarch, concur in saying that in Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Pasagardæ, and Ecbatana, he found 312,600 talents, (about seventy millions of our money,) besides a quantity of uncoined silver and other coins. If these sums were collected from the tribute, then it is evident that the revenues of the kings of Persia were greater than those represented by Herodotus. According to Rennell, the revenue of India, under Aurengzebe, amounted to 32,000,000*l.* sterling, and this was by no means so vast an empire as that of Persia. Sir John Malcolm, in his history of Persia, rates the present revenue at 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and observes that the revenue under Darius was similar. At the same time he blames Dr. Robertson for not crediting Herodotus, concerning the Persian revenue, forgetting that the revenue of a modern state, not the fifth part of that which constituted the empire of Darius, and perhaps in its present desolated and depopulated state, not the tenth of the population, is no rule for fixing that of Darius Hystaspes. But Herodotus himself bears testimony to the fact of revenues being paid in

kind. There were contributions, he says, made for the furnishing victuals and provision for the king's table and household: grain, forage, and other necessaries, for the subsistence of his armies; and horses for the remounting of his cavalry. Of the province of Babylon, he observes, that it furnished the whole contributions for four months. This, therefore, would account for the apparently small sum paid to the kings of Persia. They were furnished with the necessaries of life for themselves, their household, and their armies; and hence, the gold of their subjects was not required at their hands. And this may be adduced as a proof of the wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it is for the people, situated in countries not benefitted by commerce, to convert their goods into money without suffering losses; whereas nothing can tend to render the taxes more easy, and to shelter the people from vexation, trouble, and expense, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as it produces. By this means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

History, says Heeren, has afforded a remarkable instance of the manner in which the imposts were collected by their officers or satraps. When the Persians had subdued Ionia the second time, the whole territory was measured out by parasangs, and the tribute paid accordingly. In this case it was evidently a land-tax, which, however, was paid, for the most part, in produce. The satrap received these imposts, whether in kind or in money, and, after providing for his own expenditure, the support of the king's troops, and the maintenance of the civil magistrates, the remainder was handed over to the king. The personal interest to the satrap, if he wished to retain the king's favour, prompted him to make this return as considerable as possible, even if no precise amount was fixed.

From all this it may be seen, that the revenues of the Persian empire were not so trifling as would appear, at first sight, from the statement of Herodotus. And when it is considered that there were certain districts set apart for the maintenance of the queen's toilet and wardrobe, and another for her girdle, veil, etc., and that these districts were of great extent, they will appear still more weighty. Sometimes, indeed, as we have seen, (page 75,) the kings of Persia made their especial favourites become chargeable to certain districts and cities. All these charges would make, therefore, a very considerable

amount if added together. And it would matter but little, who received the fruits of these districts, whether the king, the queen, or his favourites; they might all be said to be collected for the support of the state. That the revenues of Persia were considered very ample in ancient times, may be gathered from the fact that they are noticed as such by ancient poets. Thus Persius, in his epistle to Cæsius Bassus, says:—

"You give as if you were the Persian king;
Your land does not so large revenues bring."

Which testifies at once to the largeness of their revenues and their liberality.

But under whatever system of taxation ancient Persia might have been, it would appear that its subjects were very prosperous. This may be collected from the prodigious wealth of individuals. In the reign of Xerxes, a noble Lydian entertained the whole Persian army, the largest ever assembled, on its march towards Greece, and then freely offered to contribute all his property in gold and silver to the support of the war: this amounted to about four millions of our money, which the monarch refused. In the next reign, that of Ahasuerus, Haman offered to pay into the treasury, to indemnify the king for the loss of revenue which he would sustain by the destruction of the Jews, 10,000 talents of silver, above two millions of our money, which this monarch likewise refused. Esth. iii. 9—11.

These instances, says Dr. Hales, of the prodigious wealth of provincial subjects, and even of captives, (for such were the Amalekites originally, and such was the origin of Haman,) are highly creditable to the liberality of the Persian government, which appears, upon the whole, to have been the least oppressive of the great ancient empires. The Jews, especially, were treated with much greater lenity and indulgence under the Persian sway, than they had been before under the Babylonian, and were afterwards under the Macedo-Grecian and the Roman.

It must be recollected, however, that the wealth of Haman arose from his personal connexion with the Persian court, as did that of Nehemiah. Haman was chief minister of the king, and that functionary enjoys peculiar opportunities of acquiring wealth. Such is the case at the present day. Morier says, that on New year's-day, the king receives the offerings of his princes and nobles, and that on one occasion, when he was present, the offering of the person holding this office sur-

passed every other in value, amounting to about 30,000*l.* in gold coin.

The manner of delivering these presents, which the pride of oriental despotism determines to be tribute, is thus described by the same writer: "The first ceremony was the introduction of the presents from different provinces. That from prince Hossein Ali Mirza, governor of Shiraz, came first. The master of the ceremonies walked up, having with him the conductor of the present, and an attendant, who, when the name and titles of the donor had been proclaimed, read aloud from a paper a list of the articles. The present from prince Hossein Ali Mirza consisted of a very long train of large trays placed on men's heads, on which were shawls, stuffs of all sorts, pearls, etc.; then many trays filled with sugar and sweetmeats; after that, many mules laden with fruits, etc. The next present was from Mohammed Ali Khan, prince of Hamadan, the eldest born of the king's sons. His present accorded with the character which is assigned him. It consisted of pistols and spears, a string of one hundred camels, and as many mules. After this, came the present of the prince of Yezd, and other of the king's sons, which consisted of shawls and silken stuffs, the manufacture of his own town. Then followed that of the prince of Mesched; and last of all, and most valuable, was that from Hajee Mohamed Hossein Khan, Ameen ed Doulah, prime minister. It consisted of fifty mules, each covered with a fine cashmere shawl, and each carrying a load of 1,000 tomauns.*

Such is the manner in which the presents of governors are offered to the Persian monarchs of the present day; and as oriental habits are, for the most part, of an unchanging nature, the extract may be offered as an illustration of the manner in which presents were offered at the period to which this history refers. This, indeed, is confirmed by the Persepolitan sculptures.

THE MILITARY POWER.

All Asiatic nations were great warriors. Among these nations, the Persians were not the least remarkable for their military genius. This might arise in part from the situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous. From this circumstance, they were accustomed to hard and frugal living, which imparts that ruggedness to the nature of man

* A gold coin, worth about twelve shillings each.

so essential to form the warrior. And there being no softening influences in the general manners, and in the religion of the Persians, their minds became accustomed to the deadly strife, and their hands skilful in the terrible art. Hence it was that the Persians, in due time, became masters of so many nations; for, in the course of nature, the strong must prey upon the weak. Their brute force exceeded that of other nations, and they were enabled thereby to render them tributary. This is the awful picture of man by nature in all ages of the world.

"As rolls the river into ocean,
In sable torrent, widely streaming;
As the sea-tide's opposing motion,
In azure column proudly gleaming,
Beats back the current many a rod,
In curling foam and mingling flood;
While eddying whirl and breaking wave,
Roused by the blast of winter rave,
Though sparkling spray, in thundering clash,
The lightnings of the waters flash
In awful whiteness on the shore,
That shines and shakes beneath the roar:
Thus as the streams and ocean greet
With waves that madden as they meet,
Thus join the bands whom mutual wrong
And reckless fury drive along:"

According to Strabo, the Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises, as riding, hunting, and handling the bow. As soon as they were able to bear arms, they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but they received no pay till they were twenty years of age. In war times, they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age or infirmity, to appear under their respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions. Thi smay be gathered from two incidents related by Herodotus. One of these incidents will suffice for illustration. The same Pythius who had entertained Xerxes with so much magnificence, and who had offered all his wealth in support of the war which that monarch was going to wage against Greece, being intimidated by the prodigy of an eclipse, and deriving confidence from the liberality he had shown to Xerxes, thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you, than important to myself." Xerxes promised to grant it; and Pythius, thus encouraged, continued: "Sir, I have five sons, who are all with you in this Grecian expedition; I would

entreat you to pity my age, and dispense with the presence of the eldest. Take with you the four others, but leave this to manage my affairs, and may you return in safety after the accomplishment of your wishes." Pythius had no sooner uttered this request, than the haughty monarch, transported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promise, and the merits of Pythius, commanded his eldest son to be slain. Such was the nature of oriental despotism.

Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, who were called "the immortals." They derived this name from the circumstance of their body always consisting of the same number, 10,000; for as soon as one died, another was selected to fill his place. The establishment of this body very probably had its origin with the 10,000 whom Cyrus sent for out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished by the richness of their armour, and by their valour. Curtius mentions another body, consisting of 15,000 men, designed in like manner to guard the monarch: these were called *Doryphori*, or spearmen.

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acinaces*, as the Latins call them; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; and a javelin, or pike, having a sharp pointed iron at the end. They also made great use of the bow, and the sling was not unknown amongst them. The Persians, when engaged in war, wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all offensive arms. The foot soldiers, for the most part, wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they did not impede the motion and agility of the different members. The horsemen wore *vambraces*, or greaves, which covered their arms, thighs, and legs. Their horses had their faces, chests, and flanks covered with brass.

Concerning the shields of the Persians, there is much difference of opinion. It would appear, however, that they at first made use of very small and light ones, made only of twigs of osier. Afterwards, they had shields of brass, which were of great length.

Before the age of Cyrus, the Persian and Median armies consisted chiefly of archers, and those who used missile weapons. These he reduced to a very few, arming the rest at all points, that they might be able to meet in close combat. To Cyrus is ascribed also the introduction of chariots of war among the Persians. These had been long time in use, as

appears both from sacred and profane writers. Homer, describing an ancient war-chariot, says:

> "Hebe to the chariot rolled
> The brazen wheels, and joined them to the smooth
> Steel axle; twice four spokes divided each,
> Shot from the centre to the verge. The verge
> Was gold, by fellies of eternal brass
> Guarded, a dazzling show! The shining naves
> Were silver; silver cords, and cords of gold,
> The seat upbore; two crescents blazed in front.
> The pole was argent all, to which she bound
> The golden yoke with its appendant charge,
> Inserted braces, straps, and bands of gold."

This extract exhibits the great perfection to which the art of chariot-building had attained before the days of Cyrus. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished valour, who engaged the enemy, and another to guide the chariot. Cyrus altered the form of the chariot, and thereby enabled both the driver of the chariot and the warrior to engage in the combat. He also caused the chariots to be made stronger, and the axle-trees of greater length than usual, in order to prevent their overturning. History records, moreover, that he was the first who affixed that deadly weapon, the scythe, to the chariot, of which such cruel use was made in after ages. At a later date, the Persians added iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce every thing that came in the way, and sharp knives at the hinder part of the chariot, to prevent any one from taking possession, or meeting their warriors on their own ground. These chariots were used many ages by the eastern nations, and they were looked upon as the principal strength of armies, as an ensurance of victory, and as an apparatus best calculated to inspire terror into the hearts of the enemy. In proportion, however, as the military art improved, inconveniences were discovered in them, and they were finally laid aside. For in order to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary that vast and extensive plains, devoid of rivulets, woods, or vineyards, should be the scene of the strife. And even in such places, they eventually became useless. Man, ever fruitful in invention for the preservation of his own life and the destruction of his foes, in order to counteract the evils attendant upon these terrible machines of mischief, discovered that the cutting of trenches rendered them of no avail. This was accordingly executed, and the war-chariot was stopped mid-way in its

course. Sometimes, also, the opposing force would attack the chariots with slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on every hand, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances upon them, accompanying the attack with fearful war-cries, that they terrified the horses, and often made them turn upon their own forces. At other times, they would render the chariots useless and incapable of operation by simply marching over the space which separated the two armies with extraordinary alacrity, and advancing upon the enemy before they had time to put them in motion; for the strength and execution of the war-chariots proceeded from the length of their course. This it was which gave that impetuosity to their motion, without which they were harmless. To the impetuosity with which the war-chariot was wont to be urged onwards in war there are several interesting allusions in Holy Writ, to which the reader is referred. See Psa. civ. 3; Isa. lxvi. 15; Sol. Song vi. 12; Hab. iii. 8.

The method used by Cyrus, in order to obtain perfect discipline among his soldiers in times of peace, was by inuring them to fatigue, and keeping them employed in laborious works. To prepare them for battle, he accustomed them to mock engagements, in which he inspired them with resolution and courage by exhortation, commendation, and reward.

When the Persians went on an expedition, their wives, mothers, and children followed the camp; a custom which was observed among all oriental nations. The motive for this custom was to inspire them with courage, lest they should lose every thing that was dear to them in life. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers simply bearing their arms.

The manner in which the Persians marched may be gathered from the description which Herodotus gives of the march of the army of Xerxes from Sardis. "First of all went those who had the care of the baggage; these were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army. After these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where the king was. Next came 1000 horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were succeeded by the same number of spearmen, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon the ground. Behind these were ten sacred horses, called Nisæan,* with very superb trappings.

* Suidas says that these horses were also remarkable for swiftness. See page 67, which speaks of the Nisæan horses.

The sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession. It was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal was permitted to sit in this car. Then came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sate his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes, the Persian.

"Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occasion required he left his chariot for a common carriage.* One thousand of the first and noblest Persians attended his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and 1000 horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of 10,000 chosen infantry came next; 1000 of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold; the remaining 9000, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold; they who followed him had pomegranates of gold; these 10,000 foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry. A an interval of about a quarter of a mile, followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude."

When the Persians made war upon any nation, they preceded it by sending heralds, or ambassadors, to demand earth and water; that is, to command them to submit, and acknowledge the king of Persia as their lord. Xerxes made this demand of the Greeks, and among those who complied with his demand, or acknowledged his sway, were the Thessalians, Dolopians, Enians, the Peræbi, Locri, Magnetes, Melians, Achæans of Pthiotis, Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœtia, except the Thespians and Platæans. This manner of declaring war was borrowed from the Medes, and the Medes seem to have imitated the Assyrians in this respect, as appears from the book of Judith, chap. ii.

In the time of action, the kings of Persia were always in the centre; and according to Stobæus, they used to encourage their soldiers with a speech. The signal was given by the sound of the trumpet, which was followed by a shout of the

* Larcher remarks that the *Harmamaxe* was a carriage appropriated to females. Lucretius says that the first heroes were mounted on horses, for chariots were a more modern invention. His words are,

"Mounted on well rein'd steeds in ancient time,
Before the use of chariots was brought in,
The first brave heroes fought."

whole army. The watch-word was in use among the Persians; for Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus, tells us that his was, "Jupiter, our leader and protector." The royal banner was a spread eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long spear. They appear to have reckoned those happy who died in the field; and they inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or deserted their colours. Justin says that they used no stratagems, and despised advantages that did not result from valour; that is, as Ammianus Marcellinus well expresses it, they thought it unjust to steal a victory.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra conveys a just idea of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and shows how far their ability extended in the use of arms and the disposition of armies. The reader will find this described in the life of Cyrus.

The manner of mustering among the Persians was very remarkable. Before they took the field, they passed before the king or his general, each man throwing an arrow into a basket. These baskets were sealed up with the regal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they passed muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same basket. When they were all passed, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they knew how many had fallen. This ancient custom continued to the days of Procopius, who relates it in his account of the wars of the Persians.

Such was the mode of ancient Persian warfare in the open field. Their sieges were conducted with great skill. In them we trace the same fundamental rules of fortification as are exhibited in modern warfare. It is true, that since the invention of that fearful combustible, gunpowder, (about A. D. 1320,) cannons have been substituted for the battering ram, and musket shot for balistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, slings, javelins, and arrows; but with this exception, the ancients made as much use of their inventive faculties for ensuring victory as do the moderns. At all events, they made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanical powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit. They understood, also, the art of entrenchment, of scaling the walls, and of fortifying those walls with towers, ramparts, and platforms; in all which it would be difficult for moderns to outrival them, if at least the testimony of ancient historians is correct.

But the Persians were not always so celebrated in this fearful art. Bossuet, speaking of the decline of their power,

says: "After the death of Cyrus, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the advantages that result from discipline, skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping, and, in short, that happiness of conduct which puts great bodies in motion without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number, rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary when they had drawn together immense armies, who fought, indeed, with resolution, but without order; and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons who formed the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasure and delights in the army as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and their gorgeous furniture were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils a voluptuous life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, was overburdened with the multitude of attendants. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders failed to reach them in time, and in action every thing went on at random, without the possibility of remedy from the skill of the commander. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things, also, as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed every thing that could be met with in the country they occupied in a short time; nor, indeed, is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

"With all this vast train, however, the Persians astonished those nations that were not better acquainted with military affairs than themselves; and many of those that were more expert were yet overcome by them, being either weakened by internal dissensions, or overpowered by the numbers of their foes. By this means it was, that Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer Lesser Asia, and even such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when

they came to engage with Greece itself, they found, what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered robust and active by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies, indeed, were but small; but they were like strong active bodies, that appear to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part: at the same time, they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their leaders, that the whole body seemed to have been actuated by one soul."

Luxury, therefore, had the effect of enervating the soldier of Persia. Once rugged in nature, and invincible in courage, he became shorn of his glory by an excess of indulgence. And is it not so among the ranks of the soldiers of the cross? Where is now the mighty strivings for the faith of the gospel, as in days of old? Where that holy boldness in the confession of Christ crucified? One goes to the feast of the merry-hearted, and another to the scene of amusement, and thus Christian watchfulness and Christian duties are forgotten. Soldiers of the cross, who strive to cleave unto his banners, the exhortation which the apostle addresses to you is fraught with meaning: "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For ye wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the Sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God: praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints," Eph. vi. 10—18. Being thus armed at all points, and rendered invincible, let your watchword be that which was adopted by good old Polycarp of old, "Christ, none but Christ!"

THE PRIESTLY POWER.

It has been seen in the corresponding sections of the histories of the Assyrians and Medes, that under the magi, as their priests were called, a species of the Sabian superstition prevailed. The sun, moon and planets received divine worship, while the more ancient belief in the one supreme God was not wholly effaced from the minds of their votaries. When the Persians triumphed, this priestly caste lost much of its influence, and seems to have been regarded as hostile to the new dynasty. Hence, wherever the Persian monarchs established their sway, they became bitter persecutors of the priests. They laid a heavy hand upon the sacerdotal caste in Egypt, and the Chaldeans in Babylon. Cyrus adopted this policy, and effected great religious changes in the systems of the magi. To what extent, however, these changes were carried in his day is unknown; but it is certain that the revolution was completed by Zoroaster, whose system is the most perfect devised by unassisted human reason. His system has been well described by the poet in his description of a hymn which the magi are supposed to have sung before Xerxes.

—— "Robed in purest white,
The magi ranged before the' unfolded tent.
Fire blazed beside them. Towards the sacred flame
They turned, and sent their tuneful praise to heaven.
From Zoroaster was the song derived,
Who on the hills of Persia, from his cave
By flowers environed, and melodious founts,
Which sooth'd the solemn mansion, had revealed
How Horomazes, radiant source of good,
Original, immortal, framed the globe
In fruitfulness and beauty: how with stars
By him the heavens were spangled: how the sun
Refulgent Mithra, purest spring of light
And genial warmth, whence teeming nature smiles,
Burst from the east at his creating voice;
When straight beyond the golden verge of day,
Night showed the horrors of her distant reign,
Where black and hateful Arimanius frowned,
The author foul of evil: How with shades
From his dire mansion he deformed the works
Of Horomazes; turn'd to noxious heat
The solar beam, that foodful earth might parch:
That streams, exhaling, might forsake their beds,
Whence pestilence and famine: how the power
Of Horomazes in the human breast
Benevolence and equity infused,
Truth, temperance, and wisdom, sprang from heaven:

When Arimanius blacken'd all the soul
With falsehood and injustice, with desires
Insatiable, with violence and rage,
Malignity and folly. If the hand
Of Horomazes on precarious life
Sheds wealth and pleasure, swift the' infernal god,
With wild excess or avarice, blasts the joy.
Thou, Horomazes victory dost give.
By thee with fame the regal head is crown'd.
Great Xerxes owns thy succour. When in storms
The hate of direful Arimanius swell'd
The Hellespont, thou o'er its chafing breast
The destined master of the world didst lead,
This day his promised glories to enjoy:
When Greece affrighted to his arm shall bend;
E'en as at the last shall Arimanius fall
Before thy might, and evil be no more."—GLOVER.

The following extract from the pen of Sir John Malcolm exhibits the principles of Zoroaster's religion, also, in a very lucid manner. "God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe, good and evil: the one was named Hormuzd, which denoted the presiding agent of all that was good; and the other Ahrimán, the lord of evil. Each of these had the power of creation, but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their co-action that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. The angels of Hormuzd, or the good principle, sought to preserve the elements, the seasons, and the human race, which the infernal agents of Ahrimán desired to destroy; but the source of good alone, the great Hormuzd, was eternal, and must therefore ultimately prevail. Light was the type of the good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the work of his creation."

The precise era of Zoroaster is unknown, in which respect he resembles Bouddha, the author of the system of Lamaism, concerning whose existence and time of appearance much learned controversy has taken place to no purpose.

The Greeks have made no less than six Zoroasters, and placed them in different ages of the world. The Sadder,

which is a compend of the sacred books of the Persian priests, contains the genealogy of Zoroaster. It states that Zeratush, or Zoroaster, was the son of Purthasp, who was the son of Piterasp, the son of Hitcherasp, the son of Thechshunesch, the son of Espintaman. Hence the Parsees in Surat and Bombay, from his being called the son of Espintaman, mistook him for his immediate ancestor, whereas he was his remote parent. In the chronicle of the Persian kings, which professes to be an abridgment of Ferdusi's work, denominated the Shah Nameh, Zoroaster is represented as living in the reign of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes. Dr. Hyde fixes his existence at the time of Ezra the scribe; and Prideaux considers him as contemporaneous with, and a disciple of Daniel the prophet. Both these authorities are agreed that he must have borrowed several of his doctrines from one or other of these eminent Jews. That some of his doctrines resemble those inculcated among the Jews none can deny. So striking are they, indeed, that the resemblance sufficiently refutes his claims to a Divine commission, and proves him to have been an impostor. It is true that many learned men adduce this circumstance in his favour, and borrow their argument for the sincerity of his pretensions from it, as well as from his acquaintance with Daniel and Ezra. But this would make the matter worse. If he was instructed by them in the true faith, of which they were the acknowledged teachers, he ought to have been grateful for being thus, in Providence, brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and to the knowledge of the method of recovery to fallen man, graciously, though not yet fully revealed to mankind. But instead of this, he set himself to form a new code of faith, or to mend the old one, without any reference to his Jewish instructors, or recommending their faith to his countrymen. He even went farther than the Hebrew lawgiver. Moses professed to teach the Jews divine knowledge only; Zoroaster pretended that his book contained every thing necessary for the Persians to know, whether in religion or politics, literature or science, morality or physics. That the work was not of God is proved by its being brought to nought; nothing is now preserved of that "prophet's" works but what has been merely remembered, and handed down by oral tradition.

With the speculative tenets of Zoroaster, there was combined a system of castes, the introduction of which is attributed by Ferdusi to Jemshid. These castes were the *Amuz-*

ban, or magi; the *Nisari*, or military; the *Nesoodee*, or husbandmen; and the *Ahmenshuhi*, or artists.

According to the usual accounts given of the Persian magi, they resembled the Hindoo bramins, being a separate caste from the multitude. This is the very essence of all priestcraft, for by such exclusiveness they keep all the knowledge and learning of which they are possessed in their own hands, and communicate only what they please to their votaries. Under such a system, the Persian commonalty were in a state of servile subjection to their magian instructors, just as the modern Hindoos are, under the bramins, or the papists in Spain and Portugal, under the rule of the teachers of Rome. The consequence was, that science and literature never flourished under magian domination as they did in Greece and Rome. And why was it? Because the noble faculties of the mind were enslaved.

> "Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
> Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
> And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
> Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
> Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes
> Their progress in the road of silence; blinds
> The eyesight of discovery; and begets
> In those that suffer it a sordid mind,
> Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
> To be the tenant of man's noble form."—COWPER.

It is remarkable, that the ancient Persians, like the Hindoos, never produced a single native historian, philosopher, or poet.

The knowledge and skill of the Persian magi in religious matters, (which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner,) gave them great authority, both with the prince and people. They could not offer sacrifices without their presence and ministration. It was even requisite that the king, before he came to the crown, should be instructed by them; nor could he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without first consulting them. Hence it was, that Pliny asserts, that even in his time they were looked upon as the masters of princes, and of those who arrogated to themselves the title of "king of kings." They were, indeed, the sages, philosophers, and men of learning in Persia, as the druids were in Gaul, and the bramins amongst the Indians. Their reputation for learning attracted many

from the most distant countries to be instructed by them, in philosophy and religion; and we are told that it was from them, that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that doctrine by which he acquired so much veneration among the Greeks, excepting the tenet of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted the ancient doctrine of the magi, concerning the immortality of the soul.

According to Herodotus, the Persians adored the sun, and particularly when it first appeared in the morning, with the profoundest veneration. To that bright orb, they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with white horses of great beauty and value, their swiftness being thought to render them an appropriate offering to that luminary. They are supposed to have worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra, the primitive cave worship of which god is thus described by Maurice:—

"Where the dark cliffs of rugged Taurus rise,
From age to age by blasting lightnings torn,
In glory bursting from the illumined skies,
Fair Science poured her first auspicious morn.

The hoary Parthian seers, who watched by night
The eternal fire in Mithra's mystic cave,
(Emblem sublime of that PRIMEVAL LIGHT
Which to yon starry orbs their lustre gave,)

Exulting saw its gradual splendours break,
And swept symphonious all their warbling lyres;
Mid Scythia's frozen glooms THE MUSES wake,
While happier India glows with all their fires."

Both Herodotus and Strabo say that the Persians sacrificed horses to the sun, a circumstance to which Ovid alludes thus:—

"The horse, renowned for speed, the Persians slay,
A welcome victim to the god of day.

It has been supposed that in a more remote period, some eminent hero, or public benefactor, whose name was Mithras, had, after his death, been deified; because in certain ancient Persian monuments Mithras is represented as a mighty hunter, armed with a sword, having a tiara on his head, and riding a bull. It is possible that the Persians conceived the soul of this hero to be resident in the sun, and that they afterwards transferred their worship to the sun itself, under his name.

The worship of fire was the natural consequence of the

adoration which the Persians paid to the sun. Herodotus says, that they paid particular veneration to that element, and Xenophon asserts that they always invoked it first at their sacrifices; that they carried it with great respect before the king in his expeditions; and that they entrusted the preservation of their sacred fire, which, as they pretended, came down from heaven, to none but the magi. The ancient Persians, indeed, dared not by their religion extinguish fire with water; but endeavoured to smother it with earth, stones, or anything similar; a superstition which still influences the parsees of Guzerat. The loss of their sacred fire would have been deemed a national calamity. Hence we are informed that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, having demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved until that time, it occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country.

It has been alleged that the Persians did not worship the sun or fire absolutely, but only worshipped God, as far as they knew him, before these, the most glorious visible symbols of his energies and perfections. This may have been the original doctrine of Zoroaster. He might have considered them merely as representatives of Omnipotence, and the Fountain of light. But the idea seems to have been too refined for the gross capacities of the vulgar, who, without regard to the great invisible Prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of these ostensible deities. This cannot be denied. Misled by the symbols, the mass of the people forgot altogether "the God that is above," or remembered him but faintly, while the sun and fire usurped his place in their affections.

Sacred fire was not peculiar to the Persian magi. It was kept perpetually burning on the altar before the tabernacle in the wilderness, and the temple at Jerusalem; and was never to go out, Lev. vi. 13. It was kindled from heaven in the times of Aaron, Lev. ix. 24; of David, 1 Chron. xxi. 26; of Solomon, 2 Chron. vii. 1; and was not to be rekindled with strange fire, nor any other to be used in sacrifices under penalty of death, Lev. x. 1, 2. It appears evident, indeed, that the ancient reformer of the Persian religion borrowed his idea of sacred fire from that which burned on the altar of Jehovah. Nothing is more likely, and hence we trace many similar usages practised by the Hebrew priests and the magi, with reference to the sacred fire. The altar of Jehovah,

in its removals, was to be covered with a purple cloth, and the ashes taken out. It was supplied with fire again from another altar kept constantly burning for that purpose. When it was rekindled, the rabbins inform us that great care was taken that no wood but that which was reputed clean should be employed for fuel; and it was all carefully barked and examined before it was used. The fire, also, was never to be blown upon, either with bellows, or the breath of man. The regulations of Zoroaster were similar to these. He strictly enjoined that the fire which he pretended to have brought from heaven should be carefully kept up, that barked wood only should be used for fuel, and that it should be revived only by the blasts of the open air, or by oil being poured upon it. It was death, in Persia, to cast upon it any unclean thing, or to blow it with the bellows or the breath, by which it would be polluted. For this reason, the priests themselves, although they watched the fire day and night, never approached it but with a cloth over their mouths, that their breath might not mingle with the fire. This they did, not only when they approached it to replenish it with fuel, or to do any other service about it, but also when they pronounced their forms of prayer before it, and which, therefore, they mumbled rather than spoke. The same forms are observed among the modern parsees of India, who believe that it was ultimately conveyed to that country, and, consequently that they still possess the fire which Zoroaster brought from heaven. Among the Persians, this sacred fire was to be rekindled only from the sun, or with a flint, or from some other sacred fire, which is further analogous to the usages of the Hebrews.

In more modern days, a sacred fire was adopted by many other nations. The Greeks had a perpetual fire at Delphos and other places. The Romans one also in the temple of the goddess Vesta, whose worship amongst them consisted chiefly in the preservation of the fire which was consecrated to her. The ancient Gauls, also, in the deep recesses of their forests and groves, which were their temples, had a sacred fire continually burning on their altars, and which they regarded with great veneration. At the present day, the Hindoos, although they are not worshippers of fire, are careful about the origin of that which they use for sacred purposes.

One fearful consequence arising from the worship of fire was, the cruel ceremony of making children pass through it, amid the sounding of drums and tabrets.

"Moloch, horrid king besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parent's tears;
Though, from the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
The children's cries unheard that passed through fire
To his grim idol."—MILTON.

There is an allusion to this fearful practice, 2 Kings xvii. 31, where the sacred historian, enumerating the different gods of the people of Mesopotamia, who was sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, says of the Sepharvites,* that they burned their children in fire to Addrammelech and Anammelech,† the gods of Sepharvaim, and which answers to Moloch or Molech, "the king." See also Lev. xviii. 21; xx. 2; 1 Kings xi. 7; Amos v. 26; Acts vii. 43. It is well known that this barbarous custom became prevalent in many provinces of Asia. According to Herodotus, the Persians erected neither statues, nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. It is from this circumstance that many argue they were not idolaters. But this is vague reasoning. It is no matter whether man makes an image of something visible with his own hands, and calls it a resemblance of God, and worships it accordingly; or supposing something visible in the material universe to be a similitude of God, as the sun, fire, or water, he adores that symbol, though he does not make a visible representation of it. It is no matter whether it be fabricated by his own hands, or whether, being made by God himself, he adopts it for his god. It is still a supposed similitude of the Almighty, still a material, not a spiritual worship, still the thing made, not the Maker, still the creature of the Creator's skill and power, not the Creator himself. And this is comprehended in the second commandment, wherein any image, or any likeness of any thing, whether in the visible heavens, or in the earth, or in the waters under the earth, is strictly forbidden to be made. The worshipping of such was prohibited under the most terrible sanc-

* Calmet thinks that these are the Saspires mentioned by Herodotus, as dwelling between Armenia and Colchis, and who, according to Major Rennell, would have occupied Eastern Armenia in modern geography. The name is probably to be sought in that of Siphara, a city on the Euphrates, above Babylon, at that part where the river makes the nearest approach to Assyria Proper.

† These two names seem to denote the same idol; the prefixed words being merely epithets of honour and distinction. Cudworth and others think that the two names refer to the same idol, and the original Hebrew denotes but one god.

tions. And why? The Hebrew lawgiver gives the reason: "For ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire," Deut. iv. 15. "Ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice," ver. 12. See also Isa. xl. 18. The worship of the sun is declared by the prophet Ezekiel to be a greater abomination than even that of the worship of fire. In that prophet's vision of the chambers of imagery, he was first shown the symbols of Egyptian idolatry, which was declared to be a great abomination. Next he beheld the Phenician idolatry, in women weeping for Tammuz,

"Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
While smooth Adonis, from his native rock,
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz, yearly wounded."—MILTON.

This is declared to be a still greater abomination than the preceding one. After this, says the prophet, "He brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and, behold at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five-and-twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east. Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they put the branch to their nose. Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them," Ezek. viii. 16—18. This, therefore, is declared to be the greatest of all abominations. And what is the reason? The apostle Paul replies: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened," Rom. i. 20, 21.

Among the magi, water, as well as fire, was also looked upon as a sacred element, and as a symbol of the Divine

purity; and, consequently, not to be defiled. For this reason, wherever they were, they caused the waters to be watched, that no unclean thing might be thrown into them. They held, indeed, that whoever wilfully polluted fire or water, deserved death in this world, and punishment in that which is to come.

That the monarchs of Persia claimed divine honours is abundantly testified by various inscriptions. One at Naksh-i-Rustam reads thus: "This is the face, or resemblance, of the worshipper of Ormuzd, the god Schapoor, king of the kings of Airan and Anairan, (Persia and Tartary,) of the race of the gods, son of the servant of Ormuzd, the divine Artaxerxes, king of the kings of Airan, of the race of the gods, grandson of the divine Papek, the king." Another at Tackt-i-Bostan is thus transcribed: "This is the image of the adorer of Ormuzd, the most excellent Schapoor, king of kings of Airan and Anairan, descended from the divine race, and grandson of the excellent Narschi, king of kings." The same fact is proved also by the legends on the Sassanian coins, as explained by Du Sacy.

On one of these coins, the head and shoulders of a man are seen rising from the midst of a flame on the altar. This is supposed to express and exemplify that fire is the light, and that light is God. Such was one of the religious tenets of the magi. Besides this, they held the doctrine of seven intelligences, by whom God unfolded his will to mankind. The first of these intelligences presided over man, the second over animals, the third over the earth, the fourth over water, the fifth over fire, the sixth over plants and vegetables, and the seventh preserved nature from all pollution. Subordinate to these were minor angels, or tutelary demons, to whom it was given to preside over particular months, and even days. These also were worshipped.

It appears that the magi maintained the doctrine of a resurrection, which was most probably borrowed from the Jews. Concerning the place of punishment, they reckoned seven hells, under the charge of an angel called Vunnund Izid, whose duty it was to decide upon the punishment due to the transgressor, and also to restrain the cruelty of Ahriman. As fire was regarded by them as emblematical of the Divine essence, it was not admitted into their representations of future torment. Hell, they said, was a subterraneous prison, filled with smoke and darkness, where angels in human and inhuman forms tormented the lost souls. Serpents, frogs, and

crows, by their perpetual hissing, croaking, and crowing, were said to heighten the punishment.

Another feature in the magian religion was, judicial astrology. This was evidently borrowed from the Chaldeans, among whom it is usually said that this delusive art originated. Cicero says, that the Chaldeans, inhabiting vast plains, where they had a full view of the heavens on every side, were the first who observed the course of the stars, and the first who taught mankind the effects which were thought to be owing to them. Of their observations they made a science, whereby they pretended to be able to foretell to every one what was to befall him, and what fate was ordained him from his birth. From Chaldea this vain science spread into various countries in the east, and even now the existing orientals do not yield to their ancestors in this respect, there being scarcely any circumstance in life concerning which astrologers or astrological tables are not consulted. In some countries, it forms a very prominent feature in the education of their youth.

Allusion has been already made to Ormuzd and Ahriman, the good and evil god. These formed a principal part of the worship of the magi. The tenets of Zoroaster concerning them were, that there was one Supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity; that under him there were two angels, Ormuzd and Ahriman, one of whom was the angel of light and the author of good, and the other the angel of darkness and the author of all evil; that these angels were in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works; after which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in eternal darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separate for ever, and light and darkness remain unmixed to all eternity.

The reader will perceive how unworthy and unscriptural these notions are concerning God. In them he is said to be the author of both good and evil. The apostle Paul, oppressed by the struggle of the two opposite principles, grace and cor-

ruption, the old man and the new man, the law of his members and the law of his mind, exclaimed, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Rom. vii. 24. If, therefore, analogical reasoning may be here admitted, what an infinitely painful struggle must constantly exist in the divine mind between light and darkness, good and evil! And yet some pious writers assert that this tenet is derived from Scripture! Alas! they have forgotten that the sacred page describes him as the HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL; as a Being in whom is light, and no darkness at all, 1 John i. 5; as a God who visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, Exod. xx. 5; as the Lord who "will not at all acquit the wicked," Nah. i. 3; as a Being before whom the seraphim veil their faces with their wings, and continually proclaim, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts," Isa. vi. 2, 3; as a God in whose presence the prophet, self-condemned, exclaimed, "Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts," Isa. vi. 5; as the father of lights and spirits, Jas. i. 17; Heb. xii. 9; as One from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift; as the Lord "glorious in holiness," Exod. xv. 11; as a Being that no mortal can look upon and live, Exod. xxxiii. 20; as a "God who is rich in mercy," Eph. ii. 4; as a Being in whose presence none shall stand if he should mark iniquities, Psa. cxxx. 3; as an holy and a jealous God, Josh. xxiv. 19; as a God who has said to the children of men, "Be ye holy; for I am holy," 1 Pet. i. 16; etc. Alas for human intellect! which, having such sublime notions of the Almighty as these represented in the Bible, can yet so far err as to recognize him with the supreme being thus erringly described by Zoroaster! What a blessing is the Bible to mankind! Take this away, and but a few years would pass before our knowledge of the Almighty would be obscured; before mankind universally would fall down at the shrine of some created being in worship; before a mental darkness would usurp the place of the glorious gospel, which "hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," 2 Cor. iv. 6.

In the prophecies of Isaiah there is this remarkable verse, which Lowth and others consider has reference to the great principle of the magian religion, which prevailed in Persia in the time of Cyrus.

"I form the light, and create darkness:
I make peace, and create evil:
I the Lord do all these things."—*Isa.* xlv. 7.

This remarkable declaration is equally opposed to the doctrine of two co-eternal principles, or two created principles of all good and evil. Jehovah here declares that he is the Almighty Ruler, and that nothing can act in opposition to his will, and that there is no power independent of the one supreme God. In other words, he declares that he is the Author of all that is true, holy, good, and happy; while permitted evil, error, and misery, brought into the world by man's apostasy, are restrained and overruled by him to his righteous purposes. In opposition to the unworthy and unphilosophical notions held by the magi, he challenges it as his prerogative alone to "make peace, and create evil;" to "form the light, and create darkness;" to "do all these things;" that is, to create or control all power in heaven or on earth.

"Drop down, ye heavens, from above,
And let the skies pour down righteousness:
Let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation,
And let righteousness spring up together;
I the Lord have created it."—*Isa.* xlv. 8.

As might be expected, the magi in Persia were the guardians of all ceremonies relating to divine worship. It was to them that the people had recourse in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what day, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As the magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they monopolized all knowledge and all learning, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and families. It was unlawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters, without the king's permission. Hence, when the favour was granted to Themistocles, it was, says Plutarch, the effect of the monarch's peculiar favour.

The magi were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of inferior priests, who conducted the ordinary ceremonies of religion; the second presided over the sacred fire; the third was the archimagus, or high priest, who possessed authority over the whole order. They had three kinds of temples. First, common oratories, in which the people performed their devotions, and where the sacred fire was preserved in lamps; second, public temples, with altars, on which

the fire was kept constantly burning, where the higher order of the magi directed the public devotions, and the people assembled to perform magical incantations, hear interpretations of dreams, and practise various superstitions; and thirdly, the grand seat of the archimagus, which was visited by the people at certain seasons with peculiar solemnity, and to which it was deemed an indispensable duty that every one should repair at least once during his life. This leads to a notice of the religious rites and ceremonies practised and sanctioned by the magi.

Religious rites and ceremonies.—The ancient magi were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with exactness and devotion. Their public worship was thus performed:—In every *pyreum*, or fire temple, there was an altar, on which the sacred fire was preserved. When the people assembled to worship, the priest put on a white habit and a mitre, with a gauze, or cloth, passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element. He then read certain prayers in a mumbling tone, holding in his left hand some small twigs of a sacred tree, probably the rose tzeh, which, when the service was ended, he threw into the fire. When prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with other tokens of solemnity. These rites are still observed among the parsees; but according to Hyde, the priests now inform the people on their departure, whence it is they worship before the fire, and why they are called upon to regard it with reverence. This, he says, is to preserve them from idolatry.

According to Lord, the duty of the priesthood of Persia is comprised in the eleven following rules: 1. The observance of the rites prescribed in the liturgy of Zoroaster. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which belongs to another. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth. 4. To attend closely to his sacerdotal functions, and not meddle with worldly matters. 5. To con the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the multitude therein. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled. 7. To be ready to forgive injuries, showing himself a pattern of meekness. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, and to pray with them. 9. To give licenses for marriage, and to take care that parents do not marry children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him.

11. To believe no other law than that given by Zoroaster; to add nothing thereto, nor to take aught therefrom.

Many of these precepts are evidently derived from the Hebrew Scriptures.

It would appear that the ancient Persians kept six festivals annually, in memory of the six seasons, wherein they believed all things were created. After each of these feasts, they kept a fast of five days, in memory of God's resting five days, as they believed, at each of those seasons. When they ate flesh, fowl, or fish, they carried a small portion of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures, in order to their own subsistence.

Concerning the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, the Persians entertained similar degrading notions with the Babylonians. Polygamy and incest were carried to a fearful extent among them; such having the sanction of the religion of Zoroaster. These facts teach us from what an abyss of iniquity the gospel has delivered us, and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes. The ceremony of marriage, was in unison with their notions of its institutions.

Equally abominable and revolting was the disposal of the dead by the Persians. The ancients, generally, had great horror at the idea of not receiving the rights of burial. Hence, when Ulysses visited the infernal regions, he is made to say:

"There, wandering through the gloom, I first survey'd,
New to the realms of death, Elpenor's shade;
His cold remains, all naked to the sky,
On distant shores unwept, unburied, lie."

The ghost is represented as imploring of Ulysses the rites of sepulture in these strains:

"But lend me aid, I now conjure thee, lend,
By the soft tie, and sacred name of friend,
By thy fond consort, by thy father's cares,
By loved Telemachus's blooming years.
* * * * *
The tribute of a tear is all I crave,
And the possession of a peaceful grave."

In Holy Writ, also, we meet with many affecting instances of the care with which the ancient orientals buried their dead. But it was not so with the Persians. Their kings, indeed,

had the privilege of having their bodies deposited in rocky vaults, as in the tombs at Naksh-i-Rustam and Naksh-i-Rejob. But this was not, properly speaking, inhumation, or putting them within the surface of the earth; it was simply a deposition of them in a rocky excavation. The common manner of disposing of their dead was far different from this. As, in their religion, the four elements, fire, earth, air, and water, symbolized, though not in equal degrees, the Divine Being, great care was taken to preserve them from coming into contact with each other. Hence, as they held also that all bodies were composed of these elements, they would not suffer them to be buried, for fear of contaminating the earth. On the contrary, they exposed the body on a high tower, that each of the four elements, by its gradual decay, might obtain its own. Some affirm that separate towers were erected for the good and the evil; others say, that men, women, and children were placed on different towers. This was adopted to preserve the purity of the elements; but wild beasts, dogs, and birds of prey, were suffered to devour them, as they considered that, the bodies being thus entombed in the bowels of those animals, the earth was not defiled nor the air polluted.

This custom of exposing their dead to be devoured by beasts or birds, was a great barrier in the way of people's becoming proselytes to the magian religion. After the Armenians had received the Christian faith, it rendered the magian name and religion odious to them, and it was a frequent cause of revolt in that country against the authority of the Persians. This custom was, indeed, anciently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that Theodoret, speaking of the good effect Christianity had on men's minds, in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions expressly that the Persians, since they had received its doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but gave them a decent burial.

Similar practices, with reference to the dead, are common among the modern parsees or Ghabrs to this day. When a person is dead, the priest does not approach the body, but the corpse is put on an iron bier, and carried to the place of exposure. The body is placed on the tower; the priest standing at a distance, performs the funeral service, which concludes in these words: "This, our brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take his own: earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire." They suppose that the spirit wanders about three days after its departure from the body, and that it is during that time pur-

sued and tormented by Ahriman, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, near which he cannot approach. Accordingly, they pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins and cancel his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate determined, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies used on that occasion.

A late writer, who witnessed a parsee funeral at Surat, says, that "as soon as the corpse was laid down in the open field near the burial place, or rather cemetery, some friend of the dead person hunted about in the neighbouring villages till he found a dog, whom with a cake he enticed to come near the corpse; for the nearer the dog approaches, the better hope they have of the state of the deceased's future felicity; and if he can be allured to take a bit out of the dead man's mouth, it is an infallible sign of his going to heaven; but in case the dog be not hungry, or loathes the object, or refuses the morsel, the case of the deceased is then considered past all hope." He adds, that the dog, in the instance before us, could not be induced to come near the corpse.

The place of sepulture at Surat may probably illustrate some of the ancient raised places whereon the dead were exposed. It is described as enclosed with a wall twelve feet high, and 100 in circumference. In the middle, was a stone door, six feet from the ground, which was opened to receive the corpse. The ground within the walls is raised four feet, and made shelving towards the centre, where there is a sink for receiving the moisture which continually falls from the carcases. Here the body is left to be devoured by vultures. After it has been there for a day or two, some of the nearest relations come to see the state of the body, and if the vultures have first plucked out the right eye, it is taken as an indication of the felicity of the departed; if the left, they are assured he is miserable. The scene within is described as revolting and offensive to the last degree: mangled bodies, and gorged vultures, still feeding on their fetid prey, compose the horrid picture. To such revolting customs has the false religion of Zoroaster given birth.

Truly there is no religion to be compared with that of the Bible; for it not only teaches man the true way of salvation, but his duties toward both the dead and the living. Carry your thoughts back, reader, to the patriarchal age, and witness the conduct of the faithful Abraham, when his beloved Sarah was torn by death from his arms. Did he barbarously

expose her remains to the wild beasts of the field, and to the cruel birds of prey? Oh no! He earnestly sought a burying place of Ephron, the son of Zohar, that he might, to use his own beautiful and tender expression, "bury the dead out of his sight." His desire was gratified, and he acted accordingly. Carry your thoughts further down into time, and see with what tenderness that faithful friend of the Saviour, Joseph of Arimathea, assisted by others, buried him in his own "new sepulchre." To use the idea supplied by the poet—

"———— There buried they
The heavenly earth; there let it softly sleep,
The fairest Shepherd of the fairest sheep:
And all the body kiss'd, then homeward went to weep."
GILES FLETCHER.

Look into our own burying places, and see there what Christian affection does for those once tenderly loved on earth. There they rest in peace, till the last trumpet shall sound, and call them back to life again. As we wept over our Christian friends, and committed their bodies to the earth, we felt that we could lie down with them in their graves, and be at peace. And yet, not sorrowing as those without hope, we exclaimed, as we turned from the mournful scene, with the apostle, "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him," 1 Thess. iv. 14. Forbear, then, ye learned, to compare the religion of Zoroaster with that of the Bible.

ARTIFICERS.

Concerning this caste of Persia, very little is known. It would appear, however, that they worked by rule, and that the rule was fixed by the monarch himself; at least the poet says that it was so fixed by Jemshid. They were undoubtedly an oppressed class of people, as may be seen from the annexed quotation from Ferdusi.

"The Ahmenshuhi class combined
Men of ingenious hand, and active mind;
Laborious, staid, who crafts of skill espouse,
While care and want deep grave their wrinkled brows:
In fifty years the monarchs (Jemshid) fixed the place
Of this, the artist and mechanic race;
Selecting one from each, the task to guide
By rules of art—himself the rules applied."

To what perfection architecture was brought by the Persians, may be seen in the description of the ruins of Persepolis. It is not so certain, however, that the vast structures in Asia were as remarkable for their beauty and symmetry, as they were for their magnitude and extent.

HUSBANDMEN.

By Ferdusi this class of people among the Persians is called, "The full of wisdom," and it would appear from him, that they were superior to the order of artificers.

"Remote from haughtier sway, and lust of fame,
Tillage and harvest-toils their simple aim;
No cries of hunger rise, nor famines come
To stint their meals, or scare their humble home:
From cold, from want secure, their peaceful ear
Rings not of doom, nor sounds of death and fear.
Yes! these are blest; but mark this maxim grave
'Sloth turns the happy freeman to a slave.'"

Agriculture was one of the objects on which the Persians principally bestowed their care and attention. One of the chief cares of their monarchs was to make husbandry flourish; and those satraps whose provinces were the best cultivated, enjoyed his highest favour. Agriculture was, also, encouraged by the precepts of Zoroaster. By that sagacious but interested teacher, they were recommended to plant useful trees, to convey water to the dry lands, and to work out their salvation by pursuing all the labours of agriculture. By thus connecting the temporal and future interests of his followers, agriculture flourished exceedingly. Hence it was that the Persians, under the Sassanian dynasty, rose to as great a pitch of prosperity as could be expected under a despotic government, and the physical disadvantages of a dry and parched soil, the want of navigable rivers, and commercial ports.

COMMERCE.

From the last clause in the foregoing sentence, it will be seen that the Persians laboured under a great disadvantage with reference to commerce. From this cause, indeed, the Persians never were a commercial people. Anciently, they were utter strangers to gainful commerce. Clad in the untanned skins of beasts, they drank the water of the brook, and ate whatever their barren country produced and were

contented. This appears from the speech of the wise Sardanis, in which he endeavoured to dissuade Crœsus from invading Persia: "If you conquer them," he asks pertinently, "What can you take from such as have nothing?" After the Lydian conquest, B. C. 548, the Persians, becoming masters of so many rich provinces, it is probable that they applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with commodities which their country wanted, and to dispose of their own superabundance. On this subject, however, no authentic information has been handed down to us by ancient historians; yet it is probable that commerce obtained increased attention, from their luxurious mode of living in later ages, which will be seen in the succeeding section of the kingdom of Persia; and which was one of the chief causes of the declension of their empire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA.

PERSIAN KINGS.

The early history of Persia is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The Persian writers have so surrounded it with romance, with tales of griffins, monsters, giants, and fairies, that no sober account can be collected from their writings. According to them, some of the kings of the first Persian dynasty, called the Pischdadian, reigned from 500 to 1000 years each. Dr. Hales has, indeed, corrected these extravagant reigns, by the sober accounts of other oriental writers, so as to reduce the length of the dynasty to a moderate compass; that is, from B. C. 2190 to B. C. 1661. But still no authentic accounts have reached us of the actions of these monarchs; and the reader can only be referred to the table of dynasties at the close of this history, for their probable names.

At the close of this dynasty, it would appear that a long period succeeded, of more than 1,000 years, during which Iran, or Persia, was subject to the empire of Turan, and afterwards of Assyria, until the revival of the second Persian dynasty of the Kaianites, B. C. 641, when Cyaxares began to reign over Media, under the ancient title kai, or king, and Persia became subject to the Median power.

During the Assyrian and Median dominations, the Persians, according to the Greek writers, were still governed by their native princes, as was the usage throughout the east. Thus Xenophon traces the pedigree of Cyrus up to Perses, who gave name to the country; and Herodotus notices his ancestors, Achemenes, the father of Teipses, the father of Cambyses, the father of Cyrus. Concerning the sovereigns of Persia, however, before the downfal of the Median empire, nothing can be recorded; and the proper history of the empire of the Persians commences with

CYRUS.

According to Xenophon, this prince, whose name is equally celebrated both in sacred and profane history, was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and of Mandane, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. He was born about B. C. 599.

In early life, Cyrus appears to have given promise of future greatness, whence the marvellous tales recorded of him by both Persian and Greek writers. His childhood was spent with his parents in Persia, where he was trained to the Persian simplicity of manners, and inured to fatigue and hardship till he was twelve years old. At this date, he went on a visit with his mother to his grandfather, Astyages, to whom he much endeared himself. He also gained the affections of the grandees, and of the Medes in general, by his courteous behaviour. Nature, who usually makes a very pleasing discovery of herself in children, exhibited her charms in Cyrus in an extraordinary degree.

When about fifteen or sixteen years of age, B. C. 584, Cyrus attended his grandfather in an expedition against Evil Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who made a predatory excursion into the Median territories. Chiefly by the valour of young Cyrus, the Babylonians were repulsed, which raised his fame still more among the Medes. The next year Cyrus returned to Persia, where he continued till the death of his grandfather, Astyages, and the accession of his uncle, Cyaxares, B. C. 566.

In the year B. C. 559, Cyrus succeeded to the throne of Persia. His first act after his accession was, to wage war with Evil Merodach, who, two years before, had succeeded his father, Nebuchadnezzar, at Babylon.

Evil Merodach, ambitious of adding Media to his empire, which comprehended Syria, and Assyria, Hyrcania, Bactria, and Arabia, formed a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the Lydians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians, westwards; and the Indians, or Turanians, eastward, against the Medes and Persians; alleging, that by their junction and intermarriages, they were grown so great and powerful, that unless they were opposed with their united forces, the confederates would be reduced by them separately. The Medes and Persians combined their forces, and Cyrus was appointed general.

The king of Armenia, who was a vassal of the Medes, looking upon them as destroyed by the confederacy, deemed

this a favourable opportunity of shaking off their yoke. Accordingly, he refused to pay Cyaxares the usual tribute, and to provide him with the number of troops which, as a vassal, he should furnish in time of war. This greatly embarrassed the Median king; but Cyrus, by a rapid expedition into Armenia, surprised the king and his family, obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliary troops, after which he restored to him his kingdom.

Before Cyrus quitted Armenia, he rendered the king some essential service. At this time, he was at war with the Chaldeans, who dwelt in the north of Armenia, and who being a warlike people, continually harassed his country by their inroads, thereby hindering a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus marched against and defeated them, and after making a treaty with them to the effect that they should no more invade Armenia, he returned to Media.

The next year, B. C. 558, due preparations being made, Cyrus anticipated the threatened invasion of Media and Persia. His reasons for this were, that he deemed it more prudent his army should eat up the enemy's country than their own; that so bold a step would strike terror in the forces of the enemy, and inspire his own with confidence: and that it was a maxim with him, as it had been with Cambyses, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number as the valour of troops. As soon, therefore, as the customary sacrifices were offered to the tutelary gods of the Medes and Persians, Cyrus marched forward with his hosts, in search of the confederates. He found them encamped in the open country of Assyria, where he attacked and routed them, and stormed their camp. Evil Merodach, the king of Babylon, was slain in the engagement. The rest of the confederates, among whom was Crœsus, king of Lydia, being greatly dispirited, retreated homewards, pursued by Cyrus.

The next notable act of Cyrus was, his invasion of Assyria. In this enterprise, he received great assistance from Gobryas and Gadatas, two noblemen, who had been grievously injured by Belshazzar, the son and successor of Evil Merodach. Acting upon the principle of revenge, which is ever sweet to an unregenerated heart, they surrendered to Cyrus the provinces and castles intrusted to them. Belshazzar took the field in order to punish Gadatas for his rebellion. He was encountered and defeated by Cyrus, who forced him to return with great loss to Babylon. This defeat is dated by Dr. Hales, B. C. 554. The next year he was slain by con-

spirators, and Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, took possession of his kingdom, appointing Nabonadius king, or viceroy, as before recorded. (See the History of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, page 127.)

After the death of Cyaxares, B. C. 551, Cyrus succeeded to the inheritance of the empire of Media and Babylonia by right, according to sacred history, and confirmed by the poet Æschylus, who fought at Marathon against the Persians, and was acquainted with Persian affairs.*

The accession of Cyrus was followed by the capture of many cities, and the reduction of several provinces, which so alarmed Crœsus, king of Lydia, that he assembled his forces, and commenced hostilities: the particulars may be seen in the History of the Lydians. See page 189, etc.

These events occurred B. C. 548. The next year Cyrus reduced some revolted cities of Media, namely, Larissa and Mespila; while Harpagus, his general, was engaged in subduing Asia Minor, Ionia, and Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus.

After this, Cyrus prosecuted the war against the eastern confederates, and reduced all Syria and Arabia; and Nabonadius having rebelled against him, he at length invested Babylon, which was the only city which now held out against him. Nabonadius, or, as Herodotus terms him, Labynetus, marched out to fight him, but was defeated and driven into Borsippa, the citadel of Babylon, where Cyrus besieged him and the town for two years, B. C. 538.

The siege of Babylon was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height; a numerous army defended it from within, and it was stored with provisions sufficient to support the inhabitants for some years. But these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. Despairing, however, of taking the place by storm or assault, he made the inhabitants believe he would try to reduce it by famine. He caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and that his troops might not be worn out by labour, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged saw his mighty labour,

* Dr. Hales states, however, that "the actual commencement of his full sovereignty" was B. C. 536, when he captured Babylon, and defeated Nabonadius, who had been appointed king, or viceroy, by his uncle Cyaxares. (See the History of the Assyrians, etc., page 127;) and who had rebelled against him, as described in a succeeding paragraph.

and laughed him to scorn, deeming themselves out of danger by reason of their ramparts and magazines.

But Babylon was founded in impious pride and rebellion against God; and many a woe was denounced against her in Scripture for her crying sins and abominations, by the Hebrew prophets.

The duration of her empire for seventy years, while she was destined to scourge the corrupt nations of the earth, and her own ensuing desolation, are thus described by Jeremiah, in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 604:

" And this whole land [Palestine] shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for the iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations. And I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations. For many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of them also: and I will recompense them according to their deeds, and according to the works of their own hands. For thus saith the Lord God of Israel unto me; Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them. Then took I the cup at the Lord's hand, and made all the the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me: to wit, Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, an astonishment, an hissing, and a curse; as it is this day; Pharaoh king of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people; and all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, and Askelon, and Azzah, and Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod, Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all the kings of Tyrus, and all the kings of Zidon, and the kings of the isles which are beyond the sea, Dedan, and Tema, and Buz, and all that are in the utmost corners, and all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert, and all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes, and all the kings of the north, far and near, one with another and all the kingdoms of the world, which

are upon the face of the earth: and the king of Sheshach "the drunkard' city of Babylon] shall drink after them," Jer. xxv. 11—26.

The retaliation of Divine vengeance in the invasion of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, the surprise of the city unawares, the slaughter of its inhabitants, and its final destruction, are thus described by the same prophet, in the fourth year of Zedekiah, B. C. 593:

"Declare ye among the nations,
And publish, and set up a standard;
Publish, and conceal not:
Say, Babylon is taken,
Bel is confounded,
Merodach is broken in pieces;
Her idols are confounded,
Her images are broken in pieces.
For out of the north there cometh up a nation against her,
Which shall make her land desolate,
And none shall dwell therein:
They shall remove, they shall depart,
Both man and beast."—*Jer.* l. 2, 3.

"Remove out of the midst of Babylon,
And go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans,
And be as the he goats before the flocks.*
For, lo, I will raise
And cause to come up against Babylon
An assembly of great nations from the north country:
And they shall set themselves in array against her;
From thence she shall be taken:
Their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man;
None shall return in vain."—*Jer.* l. 8, 9.

"Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land,
As I have punished the king of Assyria."—*Jer.* l. 18.

"Go up against the land of Merathaim,
Even against it, and against the inhabitants of Peked;
Waste and utterly destroy after them, saith the Lord,
And do according to all that I have commanded thee.
A sound of battle is in the land,
And of great destruction.
How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken!
How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations!
I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken,
O Babylon, and thou wast not aware:
Thou art found, and also caught,
Because thou hast striven against the Lord.

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* In the east, sheep and goats frequently mingle in the same pasture and on these occasions the he goats always take the lead. It is to this habit that the prophet alludes in this verse, which is an exhortation to Israel to remove out of the land of the Chaldeans.

The Lord hath opened his armoury,
And hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation:
For this is the work of the Lord God of hosts
In the land of the Chaldeans."—*Jer.* l. 21—25.

"A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord,
And upon the inhabitants of Babylon,
And upon her princes, and upon her wise men.
A sword is upon the liars—and they shall dote:
A sword is upon her mighty men—and they shall be dismayed.
A sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots,
And upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her;
And they shall become as women:
A sword is upon her treasures—and they shall be robbed.
A drought is upon her waters—and they shall be dried up:
For it is the land of graven images,
And they are mad upon their idols."—*Jer.* l. 35—38.

The prophet describes circumstantially, in continuation, the particulars of the siege, and surprise of the idolatrous city:

"Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand,
That made all the earth drunken:
The nations have drunken of her wine;
Therefore the nations are mad.
Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed."—*Jer.* li. 7, 8.

"Make bright the arrows; gather the shields:
The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes:
For his device is against Babylon, to destroy it;
Because it is the vengeance of the Lord,
The vengeance of his temple.
Set up the standard upon the walls of Babylon,
Make the watch strong, set up the watchmen,
Prepare the ambushes:
For the Lord hath both devised and done
That which he spake against the inhabitants of Babylon.
O thou that dwellest upon many waters,* abundant in treasures,
Thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness."
Jer. li. 11—13.

"Set ye up a standard in the land,
Blow the trumpet among the nations,
Prepare the nations against her,
Call together against her the kingdoms
Of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz;
Appoint a captain [Cyrus] against her;
Cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars."—*Jer.* li. 27.

"The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight,
They have remained in their holds:
Their might hath failed;
They became as women;

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* The river Euphrates, and the neighbouring lakes and marshes, with the numerous canals, both of communication and irrigation, give a striking propriety to the phrase, "many waters."

They have burned her dwelling places;
Her bars are broken.
One post shall run to meet another,
And one messenger to meet another,
To show the king of Babylon [Nabonadius]
That his city is taken at one end,*
And that the passages [from the river] are stopped,
And the reeds [or, thatch of the houses] they have burned with fire.
And the men of war are affrighted.
For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel;
The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor,
It is time to thresh her:
Yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come."
Jer. li. 30—33.

"And I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.
And Babylon shall become heaps,
A dwelling place for dragons,
An astonishment, and an hissing,
Without an inhabitant."—*Jer.* li. 36, 37.

"In their heat I will make their feasts,
And I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice,
And sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake,
Saith the Lord."—*Jer.* li. 39.

"How is Sheshach [the drunken city] taken!
And how is the praise of the whole earth surprised!
How is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations!"
Jer. li. 41.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts;
The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken,
And her high gates shall be burned with fire;
And the people shall labour in vain,
And the folk in the fire, and they shall be weary."—*Jer.* li. 58.

The prophet Habakkuk represents the retaliation of Divine vengeance on Babylon, for seducing the world with her cup of idolatry, under the same allegory:—

"Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink,
That puttest thy bottle to him, and makest him drunken also,
That thou mayest look on their nakedness!
Thou art filled with shame for glory:
Drink thou also, and let thy foreskin be uncovered:
The cup of the Lord's right hand shall be turned unto thee,
And shameful spewing shall be on thy glory."—*Hab.* ii. 15, 16.

At an earlier period, the prophet Isaiah still more awfully and sublimely predicts the desolations of Babylon.

* The prediction means that couriers should run from different parts, and so fall in with one another, all of them bringing intelligence to the ruler that the city was taken at the point from whence they started.

"Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them,
Which shall not regard silver;*
And as for gold, they shall not delight in it.
Their bows† also shall dash the young men to pieces;
And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb;
Their eye shall not spare children.
And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency,
Shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.
It shall never be inhabited,
Neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation:
Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.
But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there;
And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures;
And owls shall dwell there,
And satyrs shall dance there.
And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses,
And dragons in their pleasant palaces:
And her time is near to come,
And her days shall not be prolonged."—*Isa.* xiii. 17—22.

The prophet Isaiah describes the destroyer of Babylon by name, and that two hundred years before he was born.

"Thus saith the Lord to his anointed,‡
To Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden,
To subdue nations before him;
And I will loose the loins of kings,
To open before him the two-leaved gates;
And the gates shall not be shut;
I will go before thee,
And make the crooked places straight:
I will break in pieces the gates of brass,
And cut in sunder the bars of iron:
And I will give thee the treasures of darkness,
And hidden riches of secret places,
That thou mayest know that I, the Lord,
Which call thee by thy name,
Am the God of Israel.
For Jacob my servant's sake,
And Israel mine elect,

* Xenophon represents Cyrus as praising the Medes and his army for their disregard of riches. Addressing them before their departure for Babylon, he says: "Ye Medes, and all here present, I well know that ye accompany me on this expedition, not coveting wealth."

† The bows of the Persians were three cubits long, and were used as clubs in warfare.

‡ Cyrus, says Dr. Henderson, is called the "anointed of the Lord," because he had, in his providence, appointed him to the rule under which the Jews were to be restored. The allusion is to the ancient rite of anointing with oil those who were invested with regal dignity.

I have even called thee by thy name:
I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me."
Isa. xlv. 1—4.

"All ye, assemble yourselves, and hear;
Which among them hath declared these things?
The Lord hath loved him: he will do his pleasure on Babylon,
And his arm shall be on the Chaldeans.
I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him:
I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosperous."
Isa. xlviii. 14, 15.

By the same prophet, the Almighty gives the signal to the commanders and to the troops to march against Babylon.

"Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain,
Exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand,
That they may go into the gates of the nobles.
I have commanded my sanctified ones,
I have also called my mighty ones for mine anger,
Even them that rejoice in my highness.
The noise of a multitude in the mountains,* like as of a great people;
A tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together:
The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle.
They come from a far country,
From the end of heaven,
Even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation,
To destroy the whole land."—*Isa.* xiii. 2—5.

In the same chapter, a description of the dismay, consternation, and perplexity into which the inhabitants of Babylon should be thrown on the capture of the city, is given under a metaphor taken from the physical effects produced upon the human system by fear, alarm, or pain.

"Howl ye; for the day of the Lord is at hand;
It shall come as a destruction from the Almighty.
Therefore shall all hands be faint,
And every man's heart shall melt:
And they shall be afraid:
Pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them;
They shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth:
They shall be amazed one at another;
Their faces shall be as flames."—*Isa.* xiii. 6—8.

In a succeeding verse, the prophet describes the panic with which the troops should be seized, comparing them to a chased roe, or sheep.

* The mountains to which the prophet refers are doubtless the elevated regions from which the warriors came who served in the Persian army; such as those of Media, Armenia, Koordistan, as well as the mountains of Sanjar, in the immediate vicinity of Babylon.

"And it shall be as the chased roe,*
And as a sheep that no man taketh up."—*Isa.* xiii. 14.

The same verse, in the latter clause, exhibits these troops, the greatest part of whom were mercenaries, as returning into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conqueror.

"They shall every man turn to his own people,
And flee every one into his own land."

The grand causes of the destruction of Babylon were her pride and cruelty. These are aptly described by the prophet.

"I was wroth with my people, [the Jews,]
I have polluted mine inheritance,
And given them into thine hand:
Thou didst show them no mercy;
Upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy yoke.
And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever:
So that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart,
Neither didst remember the latter end of it.
Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures,
That dwellest carelessly,
That sayest in thine heart,
I am, and none else beside me;
I shall not sit as a widow,
Neither shall I know the loss of children:
But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day,
The loss of children, and widowhood:
They shall come upon thee in their perfection
For the multitude of thy sorceries,
And for the great abundance of thine enchantments.
For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness:
Thou hast said, None seeth me.
Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee;
And thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me.*
Therefore shall evil come upon thee;
Thou shalt not know from whence it riseth:
And mischief shall fall upon thee;
Thou shalt not be able to put it off:
And desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know."—*Isa.* xlvii. 6—11.

Having thus pointed out the principal predictions of Holy Writ relative to the destruction of Babylon by Cyrus, we pro-

* The "roe," or, as Dr. Henderson renders it, "gazelle," is selected on account of its timidity, and the lightness with which it bounds across the plains, to express the haste with which the alarmed foreigners would attempt their escape from the conqueror.

† Babylon was proud not only of her political wisdom but also of her astrological and mythological science.

ceed to narrate their accomplishment from information derived from the pages of ancient authors.

When Cyrus saw that the circumvallation, which his army had long worked upon, was completed, he began to reflect upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet was known only to himself. Providence soon directed him in his course. He was informed, that in the city a great festival* was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians were accustomed to pass the night of this festival in dancing and merriment. Accordingly, when the citizens of Babylon were thus employed, Cyrus posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered the city, and another part on that side where it went out, commanding them to enter the city by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as they found it fordable. Having given his orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the guidance of the gods, in the evening he caused receptacles he had prepared on both sides of the city to be opened, that the water of the river might flow into them. The Euphrates, by this means, became fordable, and the troops advanced up the channel, and took the city. In the midst of their rioting, the Babylonians were surprised, and caused to sleep "a perpetual sleep;" and their city from that moment began its downward career of desolation. See the article "Babylon," in the History of the Assyrians, etc. This event occurred, B. C. 536.

By a remarkable providence, and contrary to what might have been expected on the part of the besieged, the gates leading to the river had been left open the night of the attack by Cyrus, in consequence of which his troops found no difficulty in entering the city. Even the gates of the palace were incautiously opened during the tumult occasioned by the invasion. If such had not been the case, says Herodotus, the Persians, who entered by night through the channel, would have been enclosed, and caught as in a net, and destroyed.

Xenophon says, that Cyrus having entered the city, put all to the sword that were found in the streets. He then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison which kept the citadel, being apprised that the city was taken, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in the peaceable

* This was the drunken festival of the *Sakea,* mentioned Jer. li. 41.

possession of the strongest city in the world. Thus were the various prophecies concerning the capture of Babylon fulfilled.

After his victory, the first thing Cyrus did, says Xenophon, was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. Then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, and their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. After this, he represented to them that the only means of preserving their conquests was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country.

Cyrus, finding himself master of all the east by the capture of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, of whom history records that their victories were sullied by a voluptuous and effeminate conduct: he thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it; namely, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

How skilful Cyrus was in the art of government, is recorded in the pages of ancient authors. Xenophon says, that he committed the various parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers, and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king; and upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his empire. His great talent was, to study the particular character of men, in order to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good; that every part should have a dependance upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantages of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of action, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who was as it

were, the soul to the body of the state, which by this means he governed with as much ease as a parent governs his household.

When Cyrus afterwards sent governors, called satrapæ, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to be dependent upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; in order that if any of these satrapæ, elate with his station, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his maladministration within his own government. He carefully avoided the trusting of any one man with absolute power, knowing that a prince would have reason to repent of having exalted one man, if by him the community are oppressed.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all those that distinguished themselves by their merit. It was this wise concentration of his resources that enabled him to carry on his conquests.

It is not with reference to the destruction of Babylon alone that Cyrus is celebrated in the pages of Holy Writ. Therein he is pointedly referred to as the instrument of restoring the Jewish polity.

> "I have raised him up in righteousness,
> And I will direct all his ways:
> He shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives,
> Not for price nor reward,
> Saith the Lord of hosts."—*Isa.* xlv. 13.

Accordingly, in the year of the capture of Babylon, and first of his sole sovereignty, Cyrus issued his famous decree for putting an end to the captivity of the Jews, and for rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. The decree reads thus:—"Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdom of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Je-

rusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (he is the God,) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem," Ezra i. 1—4.

The response to this celebrated decree by the Hebrews was immediate by the chief portion of the exiles, "Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites, with all them whose spirit God had raised, to to go up to build the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem. And all they that were about them strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, beside all that was willingly offered. Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods; even those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, nine and twenty knives, thirty basins of gold, silver basins of a second sort four hundred and ten, and other vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and of silver were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem," Ezra i. 5—11. Thus were the Jews "redeemed without money," according to Isaiah's prophecy, Isa. lii. 3.

In the book of Daniel it is recorded that this holy man "prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian," chap. vi. 28. His last vision is dated in the third year of Cyrus, probably not long before his death, chap. x. 1; and the author of the apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon says, that Cyrus conversed much with him, and honoured him above all his friends. We may conclude that it was by the wise counsel of Daniel that the spirit of Cyrus was "stirred up" to fulfil the prophecy of Jeremiah, Jer. xxv. 11, this being the year of the expiration of the captivity which Daniel had computed, Dan. ix. 2; and to fulfil the prophecy respecting the rebuilding of the temple, Jer. xxix. 10, to which Cyrus alludes in his decree. See also Isa. xliv. 23.

The holy work, however, did not proceed without opposition. After the death of their patron Daniel, probably in the third year of Cyrus, those adversaries of the Jews, the Samaritan colonists, who had been planted in the room of the ten tribes by Esarhaddon, and had offered to join in the erection of the temple, but were refused by the Jewish government, obstructed the building. By their interest at the Persian court, they obtained an order to stop the work, which was discontinued during the ensuing reigns of Cambyses, Smerdis Magus, Xerxes, and till the second year of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, Ezra iv. 1—5. 24.

Xenophon closes the military exploits of Cyrus with the conquest of Egypt, and says, that the last seven years of his full sovereignty he spent in peace and tranquillity at home, revered and beloved by his subjects of all classes. This testimony is confirmed by the Persian historians. These relate, that after a long and bloody war, Khosru subdued the empire of Turan, now Turkistan, and made the city of Balk, in Chorassan, a royal residence, to keep in order his new subjects; that he repaid every family in Persia the amount of their war taxes, out of the spoils gained by his conquests; that he endeavoured to promote peace and harmony between the Turanians and Iranians; that he regulated the pay of his soldiery; reformed civil and religious abuses throughout the provinces; and, at length, after a long and glorious reign, resigned the crown to his son, Loharasp, and retired to solitude, saying, that "he had lived long enough for his own glory, and it was now time for him to devote the remainder of his days to God."

There is some doubt about the manner of the death of Cyrus. Xenophon declares that he died in his bed. Herodotus, on the other hand, asserts, that he perished, with a great part of his army, in a war against the Scythians; that, having invaded their country, he incautiously advanced into the deserts, where he was surrounded, attacked at a disadvantage, and slain. Ferdusi and Mirkhoud say, that he proceeded to some spot which he had selected for retirement, where he suddenly disappeared, and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest. This would seem to confirm the account of Herodotus; for oriental writers frequently use storms to typify any great or wide-spreading calamity, such as an invasion of barbarians, or the destruction of an army; but the end of Cyrus,

as related by Xenophon, is more consistent with his character in his latter days.

Cyrus was buried at Pasagardæ, in Persia. Pliny notices his tomb, and Arrian and Strabo describe it. Curtius represents Alexander the Great as offering funeral honours to his shade; and he states that he opened the tomb in hopes of finding treasures there, in which he was disappointed—a rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a Persian scymitar, being all that it contained. In his Life of Alexander, Plutarch records that the following inscription was found thereon:

"O MAN, WHOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENEVER THOU COMEST, (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT,) I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. ENVY ME NOT, THEN, THE LITTLE EARTH WHICH COVERS MY REMAINS."

Curtius states, that Alexander was much affected at this inscription, which set before him, in so striking a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of worldly things; and that he placed the crown of gold which he wore, upon the tomb in which the body lay, wondering that a prince so renowned, and possessed of so much treasures, had not been buried more sumptuously than if he had been a private person.

Cyrus, however, seems to have formed a more correct notion of worldly honour and riches than the ambitious Alexander. Xenophon says, that in his last instructions to his children, he desired that his body, when he died, might not be deposited in gold or silver, nor in any other sumptuous monument, but committed, as soon as possible, to the ground. He probably had learned from the prophet Daniel, that out of the dust he was taken, and that unto dust he must return.

From the peculiar manner in which Cyrus is mentioned in Scripture, named and addressed ages before his birth; called by Jehovah his "shepherd," and his "anointed," and promised his high protection and assistance, there has been much learned investigation concerning the character of this great king. Some think that these terms apply to his character as an appointed agent in fulfilling the will of the Almighty, altogether distinct from any considerations connected with his personal or religious character. Others, however, suppose that he was a religious character, which, in connexion with his appointment to perform the Divine will among the nations, gives a peculiar force and propriety to the terms applied to him by the prophet. Dr. Hales, after reviewing his character and his-

tory, concludes that he lived the life, and died the death of the righteous. Xenophon, who was a polytheist, represents Cyrus praying to the gods, in the plural number; but that he prayed to one only, the patriarchal god, worshipped by his ancestors the Pischdadians, may appear from the watchword which he gave to his soldiers before the battle in which Evil Merodach was slain. This watchword was, "Jove, our Saviour, and our Leader." A late writer seems to set the religious character of Cyrus in its true light. He says: "It is repeatedly recorded (Isa. xlv.) of Cyrus, 'Thou hast not known me;' and then coupled with that convincing evidence which the precise predictions offer, we see the unity of God strongly and impressively asserted, together with some distinct allusion to those very errors which were entertained by the people to whom Cyrus belonged. Now, in that remarkable passage, Ezra i. 1, 2, Cyrus says, 'Jehovah, the Lord God of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem.' Here he intimates his acquaintance with this very prophecy, for where else is he charged to build the Lord a house at Jerusalem? and he distincly acknowledges that the God who so charged him was the God of heaven; and that he it was, who, as he also had promised, had given him 'all the kingdoms of the earth.' It would, therefore, seem, that in arriving at the conviction, that in his great and successful undertakings, he had been but performing the duty to which he was by name appointed and ordained, he was enabled also to perceive and acknowledge the truth of that sublime declaration which is addressed to himself:—

'I am the Lord, and there is none else,
There is no God beside me:
I girded thee, though thou hast not known me!'—*Isa.* xlv. 5.

In estimating the effect which this prophecy, regarded as a whole, was calculated to produce upon a mind which appears to have been eminently candid and open to conviction, we must recollect that Daniel, who probably directed his attention to this grand prediction, would not fail to enforce and explain those declarations concerning God which it contains."

Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mentioned in profane history. Of his wisdom there are many examples given; none of which, perhaps shine more conspicuously than the following. Herodotus says, that when he succeeded to the Median

crown, he was thus addressed by a deputation of the Persians:

"Since God has given dominion to the Persian, and the sovereignty of brave men to you, permit us to remove from our scanty and rugged country of Persia, and to occupy a better. There are many such in our vicinity, and many further off. If we occupy one of these, we shall be more highly respected by the world; and it is but reasonable that rulers should act in this manner. And when, indeed, will a fairer opportunity offer than now, that we rule many nations, and all Asia?"

Cyrus, having heard their speech, though he approved not of it, desired them to do so: but he warned them, at the same time, to prepare themselves no longer to rule, but to be ruled; for that fertile countries naturally produced effeminate men; that it was not usual for the same soil to bear both admirable fruit and warlike men.

The Persians, therefore, acquiescing, quitted their own, and went over to Cyrus's opinion, and chose rather to rule, though inhabiting a rough country, than cultivating a champaign, to serve others.

The sage inscription which, according to Saadi, Cyrus caused to be engraved on his tiara, deserves to be inscribed upon the crowns of monarchs in all ages, and in all countries of the world. It read thus: "What avails a long life spent in the enjoyment of worldly grandeur, since others, mortal like ourselves, will one day trample under foot our pride! This crown, handed down to me from my predecessors, must soon pass in succession upon the heads of many others!"

The disregard for riches which Cyrus showed on all occasions, is a noble feature in his character. Brerewood estimates the value of the gold and silver which he received in Asia at 126,224,000*l.* sterling, all of which he distributed among his friends. "I have prodigious riches," said he to his courtiers, "I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use? and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, even if I desired it. No; the chief end I aim at is, to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."

Crœsus represented to him, that by continual largesses, he would at length make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince

in the world. "And to what sum," replied Cyrus, "do you think those treasures might have amounted?" Crœsus named a sum; upon which Cyrus caused it to be signified to the lords of his court that he was in want of money, and a larger sum was brought than Crœsus mentioned. "Look," said Cyrus "here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in are the hearts and affections of my subjects."

The care of Cyrus over his people was very remarkable. "A prince," said he to his courtiers, "ought to consider himself as a shepherd, and to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. It is his duty to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to burden himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply; and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," he adds, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is to the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

It may be observed, that it is somewhat remarkable, that Xenophon represents Cyrus as comparing kings, and himself in particular, to shepherds, seeing that it is the very character which Scripture gives to this prince.

"That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd,
And shall perform all my pleasure."—*Isa.* xliv. 28.

The comparison of a king to a shepherd was, however, in oriental writings, very common. The figure is, indeed, frequently met with in Scripture to denote the good king.

According to Cicero, and other ancient writers, the temperance of Cyrus was very remarkable. From this cause, they record that he enjoyed a vigorous state of health to the close of a long life.* By temperance, indeed, he was enabled to seize the opportunities of conquest, and to perfect his character. It has been well observed by Socrates, that that man bears the greatest resemblance to the Deity who contents himself with the fewest and most simple necessaries of life. Temperance keeps the senses clear and unembarrassed, and

* Lucan says he lived upwards of one hundred years.

makes them seize the object they desire with greater satisfaction. It appears with life in the face, and decorum in the person; gives you the command of your senses; secures your health; and preserves you in a proper condition for your affairs both as regards time and eternity.

> "Fly drunkenness, whose vile incontinence
> Takes both away thy reason and thy sense,
> Till with Circæan cups thy mind possess'd,
> Leaves to be man, and wholly turns to beast.
> Think, while thou swallowest the capacious bowl,
> Thou lett'st in seas to wreck and drown thy soul;
> That hell is open, to remembrance call,
> And think how subject drunkards are to fall."—RANDOLPH.

Another favourable trait in the character of Cyrus was, his clemency. Herodotus, it is true, represents him as the reverse of a merciful conqueror. By his strong prejudices against Cyrus, that historian has depreciated the fair fame of one of the wisest, best, and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre; one who was beloved by his subjects, honoured with the friendship of the prophet Daniel, blessed with the favour and protection of Heaven, and pre-ordained to perform all God's pleasure. No one, says Xenophon, was better qualified to conciliate universal love than Cyrus, who spent most of his time in procuring some pleasure and good to all, and ill to none. His merciful disposition was exhibited in beautiful colours in his conduct towards Crœsus, as related in the life of that prince.

Ancient conquerors generally acknowledged no right but that of force; looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them to an equal extent with their wishes; sacrificed the lives of millions to their ambition; made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction; and, to borrow an idea from Seneca, reigned as bears and lions would have done, had they been masters.

The character of Cyrus seems to have been the reverse of this. He might have been actuated by ambition, but he reverenced the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, in which whoever unseasonably engages, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed, all the misery that ensues. In the beginning of his wars, Cyrus founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented

to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, who were unjustly oppressed. The succeeding victories of Cyrus had the same principle of justice on their side. Both the king of Lydia and the king of Babylon were the aggressors. The truth is, Cyrus was a conqueror under the immediate guidance of God, who made use of him as an instrument in effecting his merciful purposes. The results of his conquests have been seen in all ages of the world, from the period at which they occurred. And very glorious are the results which have been witnessed. Through him the Jews were released from their captivity in Babylon, and through them the Gentile world has been offered deliverance from the captivity of sin, and death, and hell. This fact is one of those links in the chain of Divine love which cannot be sufficiently admired. In the language of the apostle Paul alone, can we give due utterance to our feelings: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" Rom. xi. 33.

CAMBYSES, OR LOHORASP.

On the death of Cyrus the Great, B. C. 529, his son, Cambyses, to whom, on his dying bed, he bequeathed the bulk of his dominions, ascended the throne of Persia.

Cambyses appears to have been the reverse of the character of Cyrus. The actions of his reign prove that he was neither actuated by reason nor justice in his enterprizes. In the fourth year of his reign, he invaded Egypt, and with what wild fury he ravaged that country, the reader may gather from the History of the Egyptians. See page 161.

Various and improbable accounts are given of this invasion by Herodotus. The true one appears to be, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, refused, upon the death of that conqueror, to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. This account is, indeed, confirmed by the Persian historians, who state, that Lohorasp, while he was regulating the eastern provinces of Iran, sent his general, Gudarz, or Raham, with an army, to recover the western provinces of Syria, etc. Gudarz conquered Syria as far as Damascus and Palestine,

including the famous city of Jerusalem, called by the Persians, "the Holy City."

To secure a safe passage through the desert, between Palestine and Egypt, Cambyses, by the advice of Phanes, a Greek refugee from Amasis, made a treaty with the king of Arabia, to furnish his army with water, which he did by means of the skins of camels. On arriving at the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, Cambyses found Psammenitus, the son and successor of Amasis, (who was dead before the Persians arrived,) encamped with his army. A battle ensued, and the Egyptians were routed. The Persians pursued them to Memphis, which was soon reduced, and Psammenitus taken, after a reign of six months. He was soon after put to death, for fomenting rebellion, by Cambyses, B. C. 525.

After the conquest of Egypt, Cambyses resolved to make war in three different quarters: against the Carthaginians, Ammonians, and Macrobian, or long-lived Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was compelled to abandon, the Phenicians in his service refusing to fight against the Carthaginians, their descendants; but being resolved to invade the other two nations, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia,* who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, and to learn the state and strength of the country.

The ambassadors of Cambyses carried presents along with them, which they delivered to the king of Ethiopia with this address: "Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to communicate with you, and to desire your acceptance of these presents, from the use of which he himself derives the greatest pleasure." Their designs were suspected, and the Ethiopian prince dismissed them with this reply: "The king of Persia has not sent you with these presents from any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of your master, are come to examine the state of my dominions. If he were influenced by principles of integrity, he would be satisfied with his own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor would he attempt to reduce to servitude from whom he has received no

* It is impossible to determine what particular nation is meant under this appellation. Rennell thinks they were the Abyssinians; and Bruce imagines that they were the Guabas and Gangas, who inhabit two small provinces or districts of Abyssinia. Whoever they were, they must have been a considerable nation, since their monarch sent a message of defiance to Cambyses.

injury. Give him, therefore, this bow, and in my name speak to him thus: The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia, When his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then, with a superiority of numbers, he may venture to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians. In the mean time, let him be thankful to the gods that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same ambitious views of extending their possessions."

When Cambyses received this message, he was enraged, and commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without providing, says Herodotus, for their necessary sustenance, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. He left the Grecians behind him in his newly conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

On his arrival at Thebes, Cambyses selected from his army about 50,000 men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians,* and to plunder the Ammonium, or great temple of Jupiter Ammon, built on an oasis, in the midst of the desert.

In the mean time, Cambyses pushed madly forwards against the Ethiopians. Before, however, he had performed a fifth † part of his expedition, the provisions he had with him were consumed. The army then proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, which also were soon consumed. Still the rage of Cambyses was unabated, and his infatuation still increased. He proceeded on his march, and his army, as long as the earth afforded them any sustenance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the

* The Ammonians, in the days of Herodotus, occupied a considerable space in Libya, between Upper Egypt on the east, and the desert of Barca on the west, and between the Nomadic tribes, along the coast of the Mediterranean, on the north, and the great Libyan desert on the south. It included, consequently, the desert that contains the Wahs or Oasis, dependent on Egypt. The term means an insulated fertile spot, like an island in the midst of an expanse of sand or desert, surrounded commonly by higher lands. It was in one of these, (the Libyan Oasis,) that the Ammonians lived, and the temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon was placed. This Oasis was visited by a traveller in 1798, who has described both it and the ruins of the sacred temple. It is now called the Oasis of Serwah.

† From this it appears that Cambyses never penetrated beyond the desert of Selima, that is, says Rennell, on the supposition that he set out from Thebes, and that Senaar was the entrance into the country of the Macrobian Ethiopians. The desert alluded to was that in which Bruce suffered such dreadful hardships, namely, that above Syene.

sands and the deserts, some of them, prompted by famine, proceeded to the most fearful extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest.

This appalling action seemed to alarm even the mad Cambyses himself. Alarmed, says Herodotus, at the idea of his troops devouring one another, he abandoned his design upon the Ethiopians, and returned to Thebes. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.

The fate of the expedition of the Ammonians was still more disastrous. There was no road nor tract through the sandy waste that the invaders had to traverse; no hill nor tree which might serve to guide them onward in their course. The army, moreover, was placed at the mercy of Egyptian guides, whose minds were galled by their country's wrongs, and who felt a fraternal affection for the Ammonians. The result was, that the Persians were deserted by these guides,* and they wandered about in indescribable confusion. The greater part of them were, according to the Ammonians, finally overwhelmed by the moving sands that winds sometimes raise in the desert. This fearful catastrophe has been thus described by the poet:—

"Now o'er their heads the whizzing whirlwinds breathe,
And the lone desert pants and heaves beneath;
Tinged by the crimson sun, vast columns rise
Of eddying sand, and war amid the skies,
In red arcades the billowy plain surround,
And whirling turrets stalk along the ground.
Long ranks in vain their shining blades extend;
To demon gods their knees unhallow'd bend;
Wheel in wide circles, form in hollow square;
And now they fly, and now they front the air:
Pierce the deaf tempest with lamenting cries
From their parched lips, and close their bloodshot eyes.
Gnomes! o'er the waste you led your myriad powers,
Climb'd on the whirls, and arm'd the flinty showers!
Onward resistless rolls the infuriate surge;
Clouds follow clouds, and mountains mountains urge;

* Savary says, that the route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to the temple of Ammon, or from the environs of Memphis. The Egyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days' journey from Abydos, and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Libya, they delivered them over to death.

Wave over wave the driving desert swims,
Bursts o'er their head, inhumes their struggling limbs;
Man mounts on man; on camels camels rush:
Hosts march o'er hosts; and nations nations crush;
Wheeling in air, the winged islands fall,
And one great earthy ocean covers all.
Then ceased the storm. Night bow'd her Ethiop brow
To earth, and listened to the graves below;
Grim Horror shook: awhile the living hill
Heaved with convulsive throes, and all was still."—DARWIN.

The remainder of the reign of Cambyses was a tissue of the most extravagant cruelties and excesses of every kind, committed against the Egyptians, the Persians, and his own family. According to Herodotus, he slew the magistrates of Memphis at his return for suffering public rejoicing on the occasion of finding their new divinity Apis, wounded their calf god in the thigh, and commanded the priests to be scourged. He grew jealous of his brother Smerdis, because he was the only Persian able to bend the Ethiopian bow, sent him home to Persia, and soon after, on account of a dream portending that Smerdis would be advanced to the throne, had him put to death. He married two of his own sisters, and killed the younger for lamenting the death of her brother Smerdis. He shot the son of Prexaspes, one of his principal officers, through the heart with an arrow, by way of proving that he was neither drunk nor mad. He violated the tombs of the Egyptians, to examine the mummies. He insulted the pigmy statue of their chief god Vulcan, and burned those of the Cabiri. Finally, when Crœsus ventured, as his father's friend, to remonstrate on the enormities he was committing, and to set before him the probable consequences, he snatched his bow to shoot him with an arrow. Crœsus escaped by a precipitate flight, and he was instantly ordered to be put to death. His officers delayed the execution till the next day, which gave him apparent satisfaction, but he ordered them to be put to death for disobedience of orders.

It was about this time, B. C. 523, that Orastes, one of the satrapæ of Cambyses, who had the government of Sardis, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to which reference has been made in the history of the Egyptians, page 157.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses, he left Egypt in order to return into Persia. On his way thither, he discovered that Smerdis Magus, who personated his brother whom he had slain, had been proclaimed

king at Susa. This aroused him from his lethargy. He instantly prepared to lead his army thither, in order to crush the rebellion. But his days were numbered. As he hastily mounted his horse to set out, his sword fell from the scabbard, and wounded him mortally in the thigh.

Herodotus says, that when the accident occurred, he anxiously inquired the name of the place, and found it was Ecbatana, an obscure town in Syria, where the Egyptian oracle of Butos warned him he should die; but which he mistook for Ecbatana the capital of Media, and the depôt of his treasures. Upon this it is recorded, that he bitterly lamented his error in destroying his brother Smerdis; "for," he said, "it was Smerdis Magus whom the deity foretold in vision should rise up against me." That Cambyses felt compunction for his guilt when death stared him in the face can be readily believed; for guilt sooner or later brings misery, and his was guilt of no ordinary nature. Reader, the life of Cambyses shows what a monster man may become if left to himself; if his actions have not a restraint put upon them by power from on high. It should teach us to pray with the psalmist,

"Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins;
Let them not have dominion over me:
Then shall I be upright,
And I shall be innocent from the great [or much] transgression."
Psa. xix. 13.

SMERDIS MAGUS.

As soon as Smerdis the Magian ascended the throne of Persia, in order to secure himself thereon, he sought to gain the affections of his subjects. His first act was to grant them an exemption from taxes and from all military service for three years. But his reign was brief. His gross imposture was discovered, and he was slain with his brother in a conspiracy formed by seven Persian nobles of the first rank and consequence in the state, at the end of seven months.

It is probable that Smerdis was raised to the throne by a conspiracy of the priestly caste, who were desirous of restoring their own supremacy, and that of their allies, the Medes. The result of the attempt was very calamitous to them. When the head of the false Smerdis was shown to the people, and the imposture explained, they were so enraged, that they fell upon the magi, and put to death as many as could be discovered. The day on which this transaction occurred thence-

forward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called "The slaughter of the magi;" and none of that sect would venture to appear in public upon that festival.

Herodotus gives a romantic account of the adoption of a monarch by the conspirators after the tumult had subsided. He says that he gained the crown from his competitors by the stratagem of his groom procuring the first neighing of his horse, as recorded by a public monument: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, gained the kingdom of the Persians by the merit of his horse and of his groom Œbares." The account which Æschylus gives of the transaction is more probable, and more consistent with the after character of Darius Hystaspes. According to this ancient writer, the seven conspirators agreed to reign in rotation. The first that governed was Maraphis, who is not found in the list of Herodotus; the next was Artaphrenes, whom Herodotus calls Intaphernes; and the next Darius. This last nobleman was possessed of superior abilities and a spirit of enterprize; he was also of the Achæmenian or royal line, and his father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia, the first province of the empire. Upon these accounts, therefore, when the government came to his turn, he contrived to retain the possession of it for himself, and to transmit it to his family. That he was the most formidable competitor for the crown, appears even from the pages of Herodotus; for he relates, that his merit excited the jealousy of Cyrus himself, who expressed his suspicions to Hystaspes, the father, that Darius, then a youth, was engaged in some treasonable designs. Herodotus also represents him as possessing greater enterprize than the rest of the conspirators, by compelling them to a prompt execution of their plan, under a threat of informing against them if they delayed.

DARIUS HYSTASPES, OR GUSHTASP.

Darius Hystaspes commenced his reign B. C. 521. He appears to have been the first who used the old title of royalty, Darawesh, or Darius, as a proper name.

Before Darius obtained the kingdom, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is unknown. When seated on the throne, in order to secure himself thereon, he married two of the daughters of Cyrus, Atossa, formerly the wife of Cambyses, and Artistona. He likewise married

Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, thereby freeing himself from all fear of a competitor for the crown.

One of the first acts of Darius was to regulate the state of the provinces, and the finances of the empire. Before his era, Cyrus and Cambyses had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they were needed. Darius perceived that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him in peace and security, without an establishment of regular forces; and that it was also impossible to maintain these forces without a revenue. In order, therefore, to effect these objects, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts or governments, each of which was to pay annually a certain sum to the satrap appointed for that purpose, as before recorded. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts.

Plutarch observes, that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province, such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were interested in giving him a true and impartial account. When they arrived, he asked them if such sums which he proposed to each exceeded what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he said, not to oppress his subjects, but to require of them such aid as was proportioned to their incomes, and required by the exigencies of the state. They replied, that the propositions were reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people; but Darius reduced the proposed sums to one-half, choosing rather to keep within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

Concerning these imposts, it may be here mentioned, however, that the coinage of money was not known in Persia till about this time. Darius, wishing to leave behind him some monument which should exceed the efforts of his predecessors, struck off a coin of the purest gold, the Daric, which retained its name down to the Macedonian dynasty. The impression on this famous coin, was Darius the king, crowned, in the attitude of an archer, with a bent bow, and kneeling on the right side, to take aim at the enemy.

After the death of Smerdis Magus, and the establishment of Darius on the throne, it was agreed that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him should, besides several marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when the queen was with

him. Intapnernes, one of these noblemen, being refused admittance under these circumstances, attacked the officers of the palace, inflicting on them severe wounds with his scymitar. Darius, enraged at this insult, caused him, with his children and kindred, to be apprehended, and condemned them to death, confounding thereby the innocent with the guilty. Through the importunities of his wife, however, her brother was first saved from destruction, and eventually the eldest of her children: the rest perished.

It has been seen, in the life of Cambyses, that the perfidious Orastes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, by treachery. His crime did not go unpunished. Darius, discovering that Orastes abused his power, by sporting with the lives of those persons who displeased him, sent an order to his troops at Sardis to put him to death, which order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king, and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa.

In the second year of the reign of Darius, the building of the temple at Jerusalem was resumed, chiefly by the exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zachariah. Zerubbabel, the governor, and Joshua, the high priest, made application to the Persian court, and obtained a renewal of the original decree of Cyrus concerning its erection. With so much alacrity did they now carry on their work, that the topstone was raised in joy within four years and a quarter from its commencement, that is, in the sixth year of the reign of Darius. See Ezra v. and vi. 1—15; Hag. ii. 1—18.

When Darius served in Egypt, under Cambyses, he had received favours at the hands of Syloson, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. About this time, B. C. 516, Syloson repaired to the Persian court at Susa to solicit his aid in the regaining of Samos from the person who had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius acknowledged him as his benefactor, and granted him the aid he sought. He sent an expedition, under the command of Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who performed it with success.

During this Samian expedition, the Babylonians, who had taken advantage of the confusion of the times during the magian usurpation, to provide against a siege, revolted. In order to prevent famine, they took the strange and unnatural resolution of strangling all their women and children, except

their mothers, and one female to bake their bread: thus fulfilling the prediction of the prophet:

"Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures,
That dwellest carelessly,
That sayest in thine heart,
I am, and none else beside me;
I shall not sit as a widow,
Neither shall I know the loss of children:
But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day,
The loss of children, and widowhood:
They shall come upon thee in their perfection
For the multitude of thy sorceries,
And for the great abundance of thine enchantments."—*Isa.* xlvii. 8, 9.

Darius besieged Babylon, and was derided by the insolence, and baffled by the vigilance of the enemy for a year and seven months. At the end of that time, as he was beginning to despair of success, it was put into his hands by a refined stratagem of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus. This nobleman, who was one of the seven counsellors, voluntarily mutilated himself, and then deserted to the Babylonians, gained their confidence by a piteous tale of the cruelty of Darius, and after a few preconcerted successes over some devoted detachments of the Persian army, he was appointed commander in chief of the Babylonian troops, and intrusted with the care of the city, which on the first favourable opportunity, he delivered to Darius.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, than he ordered its one hundred brazen gates to be pulled down, and the walls of that proud city to be demolished, that its inhabitants might never have another opportunity of rebelling against him. Besides this, he impaled about three thousand of its inhabitants; after which, he obliged the neighbouring provinces to furnish fifty thousand women, to supply wives for the remaining citizens, from whom the race of Babylonians living in the time of Herodotus were descended.

This siege had been predicted by the prophet Zechariah two years before, who warned the Jews to flee from thence.

"Ho! ho! come forth,
And flee from the land of the north, saith the Lord:
For I have spread you abroad
As the four winds of the heaven, saith the Lord.
Deliver thyself, O Zion,
That dwellest with the daughter of Babylon.
For thus saith the Lord of hosts;
After the glory hath he sent me

Unto the nations which spoiled you:
For he that toucheth you
Toucheth the apple of his eye."—*Zech.* ii. 6—8.

Dr. Hales remarks: "It is truly remarkable, that the Persian kings who punished the Babylonians, patronized the Jews. The first capture of Babylon was followed by the decree of Cyrus for liberating the Jews from captivity; when 'the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus' to make it, Ezra i. 1. And the second capture by Darius was followed by the finishing of the second temple, in the seventh year of his reign; when the Lord turned the heart of Darius unto them, 'to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel,'" Ezra vi. 1—22.

After the reduction of Babylon, Darius made great preparations for the invasion of Scythia,* under the pretence of retaliation for their invasion of the Medes, nearly one hundred and twenty years before. His real motive was, the extension of his conquests and empire.

Darius crossed the Ister, or Lower Danube, over a bridge of boats, at the place where it first begins to branch off to form the different channels by which it enters the Euxine, a little above the fortress of Ismail, in Bessarabia. The Persian army is said by Herodotus and Justin to have consisted of seven hundred thousand men: it is probable that the real number was seventy thousand. When Darius had passed the Danube, he resolved upon having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving the detachment necessary for its protection. In this, however, he was overruled by one of his officers, who represented to him, that, should the war prove unfortunate, they would not be able to escape from the enemy.

After crossing the Danube, it would appear that Darius marched eastward to the Tanais, or Don. After crossing the Tanais, he entered the territories of the Sauromatæ, extending northeast to the main branch of the Don itself, which he may

* The ancients divided Scythia into two large portions, European and Asiatic; the former extending along the north of the Danube and the Euxine, and the other beyond the Caspian and the Jaxartes, now Sihon. The latter was again subdivided into two parts by the chain of Imaus, or the Beloor Tagh, a branch projecting north from the Indian Caucasus, now the Hindoo Kho, or western part of the Himalaya; which subdivisions were denominated Scythia *intra* and *extra* Imaum, or Scythia on this side and beyond Imaus. It was the European Scythia which the monarch of Persia invaded.

be supposed to have crossed below the mouth of the Medweditza, or Lycus of Herodotus. From thence Darius entered the country of the Budians, which having also traversed, he finally entered a great desert that separated them from the Thyssagetæ, where he halted, and erected eight fortresses on the banks of the Oarus, probably the Wolga.

In the mean time, the Scythians hovered round his army, laying waste the country, stopping up the wells, intercepting convoys, cutting off stragglers, and keeping the army on the alert by incessant skirmishes, without running the hazard of a general engagement. The whole of the Persian army was eventually, indeed, reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin. Darius saw his danger, and began to think of a retreat. Accordingly, in the dead of the night, the Persians, leaving the sick behind them in the camp, retraced their steps toward the Danube. The Scythians did not discover that they had retreated before the next morning, when they sent a considerable detachment to the Danube, in order to persuade the Ionians, who had the charge of the bridge, to break it down and return home.

The Ionians consulted among themselves whether they should comply with the request of the Scythians. Miltiades, prince of the Chersonesus of Thrace, having the public interest at heart, was for embracing this opportunity of shaking off the Persian yoke, and all the other commanders agreed with him, excepting Hystiæus, prince of Miletus, who represented to the Ionian chiefs that their power was linked to that of Darius, since it was under his protection, that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose them, and recover their liberty, upon the downfall of the Persian power. This was sufficient; their own private interests were dearer to them than the public good, and they determined to wait for Darius. In order, however, to deceive the Sythians, and prevent them from using any violence, they declared that they would retire pursuant to their request, and the better to impose upon them, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the Scythians, at the same time, to return back, meet Darius, and engage his army. The Scythians complied with the request, but missed Darius, who arrived safe at the bridge, repassed the Danube, and returned into Thrace.

On his way towards Scythia, Darius had sought the subjugation of Thrace: he now left Megabyzus, one of his chief

generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops, Darius passed the Bosphorus, and took up his quarters at Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following, to retrieve his losses. This disastrous expedition may be dated B. C. 513.

Herodotus relates an instance of wanton cruelty committed by Darius, on his departure for Scythia, which well deserved such a disastrous issue. Oebazus, a Persian, who had three sons serving in the army, petitioned the monarch that one of them might be left at home. The king replied, that since he was a friend, and had made a modest request, he would leave him all his sons. Oebazus was rejoiced, and hoped that they would be discharged from the service; but Darius ordered them to be slain, and delivered to the parent. And yet this same prince soon after set up an inscription to this effect: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, the best, and fairest of all men, king of the Persians, and of all the continent, in his expedition against the Scythians, came hither to the springs of the river Tearus, which afford the best and fairest water of all rivers."

Plutarch pertinently remarks, "What made Nero erect his tragic theatre, and wear the mask and buskins as an actor but the plaudits of adulators? Were not kings in general styled, while they sang, Apollos? while drunk, Bacchuses? while wrestling at the games, Hercules? and, delighting in these titles led on by flattery to the lowest depravity." Thus it was with the kings of Persia. Their courtiers spoiled them by their base and gross adulation, and by it they were led to commit the most fearful crimes without compunction, and without fear of restraint; so true it is, that flattery and indulgence make the passions eager and ungovernable. Flattery is, indeed, a most base disposition. It often betrays a man to his ruin, and it declares the man who covets it totally unconcerned about the misery or welfare of his brother. The cynic Diogenes, being asked what beasts were apt to bite the worst, answered, "Of all wild beasts, the detractor; and of all tame beasts, the flatterer." In a word, flattery is an ensnaring quality, and leaves a dangerous impression on the mind, against which we should carefully guard. One of the chief objects of our lives should be, to become acquainted with ourselves; to know what we really are, not only in the sight of men, but also in the sight of God.

Megabyzus continued some time in Thrace, whose inhabi-

tants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they possessed the discretion of uniting their forces, and of choosing one commander. Being however divided, they were subdued one by one, and brought under the yoke of Persia. Some of the tribes, as the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, etc., were removed from their habitations, at the command of Darius, and transported to Asia.

Darius, on his return to Sardis, having learned that he owed his safety to Hystiæus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for him, and desired him to name what reward he wished for his services. Hystiæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, requested Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, with the liberty of building a city there. His request was granted, and he was proceeding with his designs, when, upon the representations of Megabyzus, he was recalled, under the plea of seeking his counsel in some great matter, with a promise of ample possessions in Persia, in lieu of those in Thrace. Hystiæus, pleased with this distinction, accompanied Darius to Susa, leaving Aristagoras, his son, to govern in Miletus.

Having subjected Thrace, Megabyzus sent seven Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedon, to require earth and water in the name of Darius, as a token of his submission to that monarch. Amyntas complied with their request, and entertained them hospitably; but the conduct of the Persians towards his wife and daughters so enraged this son of Alexander, that, by a stratagem, he caused them to be slain. Search was made by Megabyzus for these ambassadors, but Alexander having bribed Bubares, who was sent to inquire after them with large presents, their death was concealed, and the matter glossed over.

About the same time B. C. 508, the Scythians to be revenged on Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and laid waste the country of Thrace, under the government of Persia, as far as the Hellespont. They returned home laden with booty, without meeting any opposition either from the Persians or the Thracians.

During this period, Darius appears to have paid considerable attention to maritime affairs. He finished a canal of communication between the Nile and the head of the Red Sea, which had been commenced by Pharoah-Necho, but failed after a great loss of life among the workmen. According to Rennell, this canal, with others made by Ptolemy Philadelphus, Adrian, and the caliph Omar afterwards, were more for

ostentation than use. They soon, at least, became unnavigable, either from the failure of the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, which supplied them with water, or from the stoppage of their outlet at the head of the Red Sea, and by the operation of the tides.

About the same time, Darius, ambitious of extending his conquests eastwards, resolved to obtain a proper knowledge of the country. For this purpose he employed Syclax, and other able navigators, on a voyage of discovery down the river Indus to its mouth. From this point they coasted westwards, along the Persian Gulf, and after a voyage of two years and a half, they reached the port on the Red Sea from which the Phenicians, employed in the circumnavigation of Africa, had set out about a hundred years before. From thence Syclax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of his discoveries.

After this, says Herodotus, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of the ocean, which probably means no more than that he possessed himself of the tract adjacent to the Indus and its branches. History does not record the particulars of this expedition.

According to the Greek historians, the latter part of the reign of Darius was turbulent, and embarrassed both abroad and at home.

In the seventeenth year of his reign, B. C. 504, from a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxos, (which, according to Hawkins, is the largest and most circular of all the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea,) a flame arose, which occasioned a considerable war. In this sedition, the principal inhabitants, being overpowered by the populace, were banished the island. They fled to Miletus, and implored the assistance of Aristagoras, who was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystiæus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law.

Aristagoras promised to restore the exiles to their native country; but not being powerful enough to accomplish his design alone, he went to Sardis, and communicated the matter to Artaphernes, the king's brother, who governed in that city, in order to obtain his assistance. He represented to Artaphernes, that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades might be brought under subjection; that the isle of Eubœa, now Negropont, which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near them, would be easily conquered: and that from thence Darius would have a free pas-

sage into Greece. He concluded by saying that 100 ships would be sufficient for the enterprize.

Artaphernes was pleased with the project, and promised 200 ships, if the king's consent could be gained. In this matter there was no difficulty. Charmed with the mighty hopes held out, and regardless of the injustice of the enterprize, as well as of the perfidy of Aristagoras and Artaphernes, the king approved of the project, and preparations were made for putting it into execution.

During the next spring, B. C. 503, Artaphernes sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus, under the command of Megabates, a noble Persian, of the Achæmenian family. The order Megabates received was, to obey Aristagoras. This gave him great offence, and led to a breach between the two generals; and Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. They prepared for their defence, and the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were compelled to retire.

This project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and ruined his credit with Artaphernes. Aristagoras foresaw the loss of his government, and his own ruin, and he resolved upon a revolt, as the only expedient whereby he could save himself. His design was seconded by the secret counsel of Hystiæus, who, imagining that if any troubles should arise in Ionia, he should be sent to quell them, took this step in order to be restored to his native country. Aristagoras, therefore, after having communicated his designs to the principal persons of Ionia, began to prepare for the revolt with great activity.

At this date, B. C. 502, the people of Tyre, who had been reduced to slavery, when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, having groaned under that oppression for seventy years, were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy, to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own, which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. The prophecy reads thus:—

"And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years,
That the Lord will visit Tyre,
And she shall turn to her hire,
And shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world
Upon the face of the earth.
And her merchandize and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord:

It shall not be treasured nor laid up;
For her merchandize shall be for them that dwell before the Lord,
To eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing."—*Isa.* xxiii. 17, 18.

It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from the Tyrians, who were powerful at sea, in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection.

The next year, B. C. 501, Aristagoras reinstated the Ionians in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then travelled through Ionia, where, by his example and influence, he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the Greeks then called them, "tyrants," to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was the acknowledged leader, he openly revolted from Darius. To strengthen himself the more against the Persians, in the beginning of the following year, he went to Lacedæmon to engage that city in his interest. He made tempting offers to Cleomenes, who was at that time king of Lacedæmon; but Cleomenes was proof against them, and declined sending him any succours. Aristagoras then proceeded to Athens, and the Athenians being at this time at variance with the Persians, for having shown favour to Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, whom they had exiled ten years before, availed themselves of this opportunity of revenge, and ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be sent to the assistance of the Ionians.

In the year B. C. 500, the Ionians, having collected their forces, and being reinforced with these twenty vessels, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, and leaving their ships, they marched by land to Sardis. This city was soon taken, and an Ionian soldier having set fire to one house, the flames spread and communicated to the rest: most of them being built with reeds, the whole city was reduced to ashes. The citadel only, into which Artaphernes had fled, escaped the general conflagration.

After this accident, the Persians and Lydians assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians retreated, in order to re-embark at Ephesus; but before they had reached that city, they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The Athenians, who escaped, immediately set sail, and returned home; and notwithstand-

ing the urgent solicitations of Aristagoras, they would not return to the combat.

Darius being informed of these proceedings, enraged with the Athenians for the part they had taken, resolved from that time to make war upon Greece. Shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed, "Suffer me, O Jove, to be revenged on these Athenians." And that his revenge might not slumber, he commanded one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Remember the Athenians." A wiser admonition, and more conducive to the happiness of the monarch, would have been the following sentiment, so well expressed by one of our own poets:—

"Bid o'er revenge the charities prevail."—CAWTHORN.

In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of that country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards used as a pretence by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks. Their true motive will fall under observation in a future page.

The Ionians, though deserted by the Athenians, and weakened by their late overthrow, nevertheless pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, where they reduced Byzantium, and most of the other Greek cities on those coasts. As they returned, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war; the people of Cyprus likewise entered into the confederacy, and openly revolted from the Persians. The Persian generals, however, having divided their forces, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain; the island of Cyprus was again subjected to the Persians.

According to the expectations of Hystiæus, he was sent back to Ionia, in order to restore the king's affairs in that province. No sooner, however, had he arrived at Sardis, than he formed a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. For fear of detection, he retired to the isle of Chios, where by artifice he justified himself to the Ionians, and engaged them to prosecute the war with vigour.

The generals of the Persian forces, finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus,

but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panionium.* The result of their deliberations was, that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; and that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness, they should meet at Lada,† and risk a battle in favour of Miletus.

The Ionians assembled at Lada, as had been appointed, and so vigorous had they been in their preparations that they had collected a fleet of 353 sail. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though double their number, were afraid to join issue, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert the common cause. The defection took place at the commencement of the engagement; the Samians and Lesbians, with others, hoisting sail, returned to their respective countries. The remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 ships, and these were quickly overpowered by the Persians, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who levelled it with the ground.

This event occurred six years after the revolt of Aristagoras. All the other cities that had revolted returned to their allegiance soon after, either voluntarily, or by compulsion. Those that opposed the victors were treated in a barbarous manner. The handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs; the young women were sent into Persia; and the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the effects of the revolt of the Ionians, a revolt into which the people had been drawn by the ambition of two designing men, Aristagoras and Hystiæus.

Hystiæus was soon after taken by the Persians, and carried

* It is supposed that the Panionium here mentioned suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium:

"Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
Of sovereign power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers."

† According to Pausanias, this island was divided into two, one of which parts was called Asterius, from Asterius, the son of Anactes. At the present period, by the alluvions of the Meander, it is joined to the main land, and is a full mile within the margin of the sea; so that the *Latinicus Sinus* is become an inland lake, seven or eight miles distant from the sea.

to Sardis, where he was crucified by order of Artaphernes, who hastened his end without consulting Darius, lest his affection for him should incline him to mercy. The conjecture of Artaphernes was well grounded. When the head of Hystiæus was brought to Darius, he expressed his displeasure at the act, and caused it to be honourably interred, as the remains of one to whom he owed great obligations. Hystiæus was the most bold, restless, and enterprising genius of his age. With him all means were good and lawful that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he was ever ready to sacrifice the good of his country, and even his own kindred. In the page of history, his name stands forth as a witness to the truths that human nature, uncontrolled by a Divine power, is capable of committing the most fearful deeds; that man is very far departed from original righteousness.

The flame of revenge, which had been long smouldering in the breast of Darius, at length burst forth. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign, B. C. 494, having recalled all his other generals, he appointed Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young Persian nobleman who had lately married one of his daughters, to the command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. Mardonius, pursuant to his orders, marched through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to reduce Thasus, and then to coast along the shore, that they might act in concert with each other. On his arrival in Macedonia, all the country took the alarm at such a mighty army, and submitted; but the fleet in doubling the cape at Mount Athos, now called Cape Santo, was dispersed by a storm; 300 ships, and 20,000 men perished in the mighty waters. His land army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal. Being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured, the Bryges,* a people of Thrace, attacked him under cover of the night, broke into his camp, and wounded Mardonius himself. These misfortunes obliged him to return into Asia, from whence he was soon after recalled by Darius.

Darius, perceiving too late that the inexperience of Mardonius had occasioned the defeat of his troops, put two other generals in his place, namely, Datis, a Mede, and Arta-

* These Bryges were probably the Phrygians.

phernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. Before, however, he made any farther attempts upon Greece, he deemed it politic first to sound the Greeks, to discover how these different states stood affected to, or were averse from the Persian government. With this view, he sent heralds to all their cities, to demand earth and water, in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Greek cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands, as did all the inhabitants of Ægina, a small island near Athens. At Athens and Sparta, the heralds met with a different reception. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take thence earth and water. This they did under the influence of anger. When that was passed, they were ashamed of the transaction, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations; and they accordingly sent ambassadors to the king of Persia at Susa, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But Darius, declaring himself satisfied with the embassy, sent the ambassadors back to their respective countries, though those of Sparta voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime of which their countrymen had been guilty.

This incident affords an excellent lesson on that sinful passion, anger, which has been justly characterized by an ancient sage as a "short madness." Reader, beware of doing irrevocable acts in thy passion. The hair of Samson grew again, but his eyes no more drank in the blessed light of heaven. Time may restore some losses, but others are never to be repaired. Do not, therefore, in an instant what an age cannot recompense. An old divine has said, "As a good man would not wish to be taken out of the world in a fit of anger, into that place which is all peace and quietness, so he should never indulge passion, lest he should die in that state."

> " Be all mad rage, all anger then resigned,
> A cruel heart ill suits a human mind."

Bent upon the reduction of Greece, Darius hastened the departure of his generals, Datis and Artaphernes. Their instructions were, to plunder the cities of Eretria and Athens, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, and to make all the inhabitants slaves, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they were provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The generals having appointed their fleet to meet at Samos, set sail from thence with 600 ships,

and an army of 500,000 men. After having made themselves masters of the islands in the Ægean Sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took, after a siege of seven days, by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants. They reduced the city to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia, and then sailed for Attica.

When the Persians had arrived at Attica, Hippias, of whom mention has before been made, conducted them to Marathon. In order to strike terror into the citizens of Athens, they sent heralds from thence to acquaint them with the fate of Eretria, hoping thereby to induce them to surrender immediately.* It had the contrary effect. Despair inspired them with courage, and not being able to gain assistance from their allies, except 1000 men from Platæa, they armed their slaves, which was contrary to their usual practice.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse; that of the Athenians amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was chief, and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, in rotation. There was a division among the generals whether they should hazard a battle, or simply fortify and defend the city. Miltiades argued that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike terror into the enemy, was to advance fearlessly, and attack them with intrepidity. Aristides, convinced by this argument, embraced the opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders; and eventually it was agreed upon by all that it would be wise to engage the enemy in the open field; and under this feeling, the conduct of the battle was yielded to Miltiades. Thus all sentiments of jealousy gave way to the love of the public good: this was noble, and it resulted in the redemption of their country from Persian domination.

Although honoured with the general command, Miltiades would not engage in battle till his own day for governing arrived. When that day came, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to make up for his deficiency in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should neither be able to surround him, nor charge him in the rear. On the two sides of his

* The distance of Marathon from Athens is about twenty-four miles.

army he caused large trees to be thrown, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless.

Datis, the commander of the Persians, was sensible that the place was not advantageous for him; but relying upon the number of his troops, he determined to sustain a battle.

All things being disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the Greeks, performed, Miltiades commanded the signal to be given for battle. Betwixt the two armies there was an interval of about eight furlongs; and the Persians seeing the Athenians approach by running, prepared to receive them as men devoted to destruction. As soon, however, as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they discovered that they were no mean foes.* After a long and obstinate contest, the barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time, however, the Athenians and Platæans, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of the centre, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and pursuing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to the vessels.

It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, brother of the celebrated tragic poet, Æschylus, who had laid hold of one of the ships in order to get into it with those that fled, had his right hand cut off, and was drowned; of which we find a similar example in Lucan:

"He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,
Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;
Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,
And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends:
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiff'ning cold,
Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold:
Nor sunk his valour, by the pain deprest,
But nobler rage inflam'd his mangled breast:

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* Xenophon relates, that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies; and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice 500. Ælian relates the same fact with some slight variation; and we read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus, one of the Athenian generals, vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies; and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room. Herodotus is silent on this matter, for which he is blamed by Plutarch. The account which Xenophon gives is, however, the most probable; for Callimachus being killed in the battle, could not have performed a vow.

His left remaining hand the combat tries,
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;
The same hard destiny the left demands,
And now a naked, helpless trunk he stands."

Amongst those that were slain on the side of the Greeks were Callimachus and Stasileus, two of their chief commanders. They had not above 200 men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas on the side of the Persians about 6000 fell, besides those who were drowned in their attempts to escape, and those that were consumed in their burning ships.* The Greeks, moreover, obtained possession of seven of the enemy's vessels.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father, Pisistratus, over the Athenians, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth. An ignominious death, with lasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the result of his treachery.

The Persians had considered victory so sure, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess Nemesis, whose business, it was supposed, was to punish injustice and oppression, and who had a temple near Marathon.

Plutarch relates, that immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, stained with blood, hastened to Athens, to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the success of their army at Marathon. When he arrived at the public palace, where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent that, having uttered these words, "Rejoice, the victory is ours!" he fell down, and expired.

The news of this victory spread a general joy throughout the nations around, to which the poet Wordsworth has a fine allusion:

* It was between the foot of the Agherlichi and the Charadrus mountains that Miltiades ranged his troops. The Persians being driven across the Charadrus by the Greeks, the whole body made for the defile, where the only passage afforded was hardly broad enough to admit of two persons abreast of each other. Every attempt to escape in this direction was impossible, as the sea or the swamp interposed to prevent it. The consequence of such an attempt is obvious; and hence it follows, that the vast loss of the Persians was as much owing to their ignorance of the existence of this swamp, and defile leading to it, as to the valour of the Greeks.

"When far and wide, swift as the beams of morn,
The tidings passed of servitude repealed,
And of that joy which shook the Isthmian field,
The rough Ætolians smiled with bitter scorn.
'Tis known,' cried they, 'that he who would adorn
His envied temples with the Isthmian crown,
Must either win through effort of his own,
The prize, or be content to see it won
By more deserving brows. Yet so ye prop,
Sons of the brave who fought at Marathon,
Your feeble spirits! Greece her head hath bowed,
As if the wreath of liberty thereon
Would fix itself as smoothly as a cloud,
Which, at Jove's will, descends on Pelion's top.'"

Instead of sailing by the islands, the Persian fleet, in order to return to Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens before the Athenian forces should arrive to its defence. The latter, however, had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes, to secure their country, and these performed the march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day, and the designs of the Persians were frustrated. This battle occurred B. C. 490.

The Lacedæmonians had promised assistance to the Athenians, but they were hindered by a ridiculous superstition from taking a part in the action. Mankind, in all ages of the world, from observing the visible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have supposed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. Travellers have observed, that in the countries of the east it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey. And to this there appears to be reference made in Scripture. Thus Solomon puts into the mouth of the adulterous wife these words:

"The goodman is not at home,
He is gone a long journey:
He hath taken a bag of money with him,
And will come home at the day appointed."—*Prov.* vii. 19, 20.

Or, in other words, at "the new moon." Reference is also made to this observance, 1 Sam. xx. 24, where Saul is represented as sitting down to meat, or to a feast, when the new moon was come. It was under the influence of this superstition that the Lacedæmonians deferred sending their promised aid to the Athenians. After the moon, however, had passed the full, they sent a body of 2000 men, which arrived only to offer them their congratulations on the victory. Hap-

pily, this superstition is now exploded by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reasonably urged, that as the most accurate and subtile barometers are not affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence.

The lesson conveyed in these disasters was lost upon Darius. His revenge was, indeed, still more excited against the Athenians, and he resolved to head another armament in person, which put all Asia in a ferment for three years. But his designs were frustrated. In the year B. C. 487, the Egyptians revolted, which caused him to delay his expedition, that he might increase his preparations against both nations; and two years after, as he was upon the point of carrying his plans into execution, he died, after having reigned thirty-six years.

During the last six years of his reign, Darius, according to oriental writers, was engaged also in reforming the corruptions that had crept into the national religion, by the progress of the Sabian superstition and adoration of fire, and of the other elements of nature; and by the prevalence of the notion of the two principles, the good and evil, which are referred to in Isaiah's prophecies respecting Cyrus, who acknowledged Jehovah as "the God," Ezra i. 1—3. According to Mohammed Mustapha, Darius was assisted in his salutary work by Hystaspes, then master of the magi in succession to the prophet Daniel, who held that high office from B. C. 569 to B. C. 534; and who, from his rank and residence at Susa, the capital, from the time of Belshazzar, (Dan. viii. 2,) must have been well known to Hystaspes, and probably to Darius himself.

The chief associate of Hystaspes and Darius, says Dr. Hales, was the younger Zerdusht, or second Zoroaster, who is represented by the Arabian and Persian historians as a native of the province of Aderbijan, and a disciple of one of the Jewish prophets, either Elijah, Jeremiah, or Ozeir, Ezra. The real prophet was Daniel.

The design of the reform was to bring back the religion of Persia to its primitive purity, in the days of Abraham and of the Pischdadian kings; to revive the supremacy of the God of heaven over Ahriman, the evil principle; and to teach a future judgment, in which the apparent mixture of good and evil in this life, designed in the state of probation to promote God's glory, should be redressed in the next, by the

reward of the good in heaven, and the punishment of the wicked in hell; all which articles appear to have been derived from some superior teacher to the magi, to have been, in fact, collected from the sacred writings, or the oral instructions of Daniel himself.

Instead of the former mode of keeping the sacred fire in caves, and on mountains in the open air, where it was liable to be extinguished, Darius built fire temples throughout his dominions, as at Jerusalem. His principal fire temple, called Azur Gushtasp, was erected at Balch, the capital of the province of Bactria.* After the death of Zerdusht, in the fifth year of his reformation, Darius assumed the office of archimagus himself, but died the following year. Hence the succeeding kings of Persia were always initiated into the sacerdotal order of the magi before their inauguration, as related in the section on the polity of Persia.

Next to Cyrus, says Dr. Hales, Darius was the greatest prince of this dynasty. If Cyrus founded, Darius Hystaspes unquestionably established the empire. His political wisdom and moderation, his system of laws and finance, and his reform of the national religion, were all admirable; and his attention to maritime discoveries and commerce distinguished him from all the other kings of Persia. His greatness, however, was sullied by the indulgence of those evil principles, ambition and revenge, which brought ruin not only on his enemies, but on his own subjects. Notwithstanding, he was endowed with many excellent qualities; and his wisdom, justice, and in many instances, clemency, are much commended by the ancients. His greatest honour is, that he was appointed by the Almighty to complete the work begun by Cyrus, namely, the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land.

Before his death, Darius appointed Xerxes, his eldest son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to succeed him, in preference to Artobazanes, his eldest son by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas; because the former was born when his father was king, but the latter when he was only in a private station. It is probable that the influence Atossa had over the mind of Darius decided the choice.

* Balch is situated on the river Dehash, the Bactrius of Curtius, Pliny, and Strabo, and the Zariaspis of Ptolemy. By different writers it is called Zariaspa, Balk, Balakh, and Bilahj. It is considered to be the oldest city in the world, and is hence denominated Omool Belad, "The mother of cities." Elphinstone says it is now reduced to comparative insignificance.

XERXES.

Xerxes having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations begun by Darius for the reduction of Egypt.

In the same year, the Samaritans wrote to him, (Ahasuerus,*) in accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, Ezra iv. 6; but notwithstanding this opposition, he confirmed to that people all the privileges granted them by his father, especially the grant of the Samaritan tribute, for carrying on the building of the temple, and the support of the temple worship and sacrifices.

In the second year of his reign, B. C. 484, Xerxes marched against the Egyptians, and having defeated and subdued them, he made the yoke of their subjection more grievous: then giving the government of that province to his brother Achæmenes, he returned to Susa.

The poet Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, represents Xerxes as following his predecessor's plan of conquest. Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, is introduced as addressing the ghost of her husband Darius thus:

> "This from too frequent converse with bad men,
> The impetuous Xerxes learned: these caught his ear
> With thy great deeds, as winning for thy sons
> Vast riches with thy conquering spear: whilst he,
> Timorous and slothful, never, save in sport,
> Lifted his lance, nor added to the wealth
> Won by his noble fathers. This reproach,
> Oft by bad men repeated, urged his soul
> To attempt this war, and lead his troops to Greece."

Accordingly, the reduction of Egypt was only preparatory to his grand expedition against Greece. Plutarch represents him as boasting that it was not his intention to have the figs of Attica, which were excellent, bought for him any longer, and that he would eat no more till he was master of the country. Before, however, Xerxes engaged in this important enterprise, he assembled his council, in order to obtain the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the design he had in view, and acquainted them with his motives, which were, the desire of imitating his predeces-

* The reader must remember that this is a title, and not a proper name. Dr. Hales says that this title is applied to Xerxes, Ezra iv. 6; to Artaxerxes Longimanus, Esther i. 1; and to Astyages, the father of Cyaxares, or of Darius the Mede, Dan. ix. 1.

sors; the obligation he was under to revenge the burning of Sardis; the necessity of recovering their lost honours; and the prospect of the advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of all Europe. He added further, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and consequently that he was only completing his designs; he concluded by promising large rewards to those who should distinguish themselves in the expedition.

It is probable that the poet had the speech of Xerxes in his mind when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens:

> "Is this the city whose presumption dar'd
> Invade the lord of Asia? sternly said
> Mardonius entering. Whither now are fled
> The audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?
> Where'er you lurk, Athenians, if in sight,
> Soon shall you view your citadel in flames;
> Or if retreated to a distant land,
> No distant land of refuge shall you find
> Against avenging Xerxes."—Glover.

Mardonius, the same who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of Darius, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and anxious to obtain the command of the army, not only approved of the determination of Xerxes, but extolled him above all his predecessors, and endeavoured to show the necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name. The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering speech was well received by Xerxes, remained for some time silent, fearful of opposing the will of the monarch. At length Artabanus, the king's uncle, who was venerable both for his age and prudence, deriving confidence from his relationship, addressing Xerxes, used all his endeavours to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached Mardonius with want of sincerity, and showed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the Persians in a war which nothing but his own ambition and self-interest could tempt him to advise.

The ear of Xerxes was open to flattery, but deaf to wholesome advice. Although Artabanus delivered his sentiments in a respectful manner, and with great sincerity, Xerxes was indignant at the liberty, and assured him that if he were not his uncle, he should have suffered for his presumption. Tacitus has well observed, that it is the misfortune of princes

spoiled by flattery to look upon every thing as austere that is sincere and ingenuous, and to disregard all counsel delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom. They do not consider that even an honest man durst not tell them all he thinks, nor discover the whole truth; and that what they stand most in need of is a sincere and faithful friend. A prince ought to think himself happy if in his whole reign he finds one who ventures to speak honestly, for he is the most necessary and rare instrument of government. Cicero justly remarks, that there is nothing so agreeable to nature, or so convenient to our affairs, whether in prosperity or adversity, as true friendship; and who is so sincere a friend as he who imparts good advice in an hour of difficulty?

> "Take sound advice proceeding from a heart
> Sincerely yours, and free from fraudful art."—DRYDEN.

But, alas! advice is seldom welcome, and those who want it the most like it the least, as in the case of Xerxes. The reason may be, that the acknowledgment of our weakness and another's better sense are implied in the act of taking advice. Whence the pride of human nature stifles the voice of conviction, and makes us turn a deaf ear to the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

According to Herodotus, when the ebullitions of his rage were over, Xerxes repented of his conduct towards Artabanus, and sent for him to acknowledge his fault, and express his intention of foregoing the war upon Greece, which gave the nobles great joy. After this, the author relates a romantic account of a vision, which changed their opinion, and made even Artabanus himself become a sanguine and zealous promoter of the war.

The greatness of the preparations was in proportion to the grandeur of the scheme. Nothing was omitted which could contribute to the success of the undertaking. Xerxes entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most potent people of the west, and made an agreement with them that, while the Persians invaded Greece, they should fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from rendering each other assistance. The Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar general, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but with the money sent him by Xerxes hired mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; so that it is said his army consisted of 300,000 men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order

to execute the projects and stipulations of the league. See the History of the Carthaginians.

In the beginning of the fifth year, after war had been determined on, Xerxes began his march from Susa, the metropolis, with his mighty army. The time of his departure, says Dr. Hales, is critically determined by an eclipse of the sun, visible at Susa about eight in the morning, April 19, B. C. 481. Herodotus represents this eclipse as total; "for the sun disappeared in a cloudless and clear sky, and day became night;" but it appears from Dr. Brinkley's computation that it was somewhat less then a half eclipse. This was sufficient to excite observation, and create alarm at Susa, especially at the moment of their departure, and might easily have been magnified into total, by tradition, at a time when eclipses were considered portentous, and the cause known but to few of the learned. Xerxes was alarmed at the incident, and consulted the magi upon what it might portend. The magi affirmed that God prognosticated to the Greeks the failure of their states, saying that the sun was the prognosticator of the Greeks, but the moon of the Persians. With this futile and lying exposition Xerxes was satisfied, and proceeded on his march.

From Susa Xerxes marched to Sardis, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

It was on his way thither, at Celænæ,* Pythius, a noble

* This city was situated in Phrygia Major, on the road from Susa to Sardis. It was a city of great note in the days of the Lydian and Phrygian kings, and during the time of the Persian empire. It is now in ruins, and modern geographers are much divided in opinion respecting its ancient site. It is noted in the march of the younger Cyrus, and a description of its site has been given in the Anabasis of Xenophon. It was the usual residence of the Persian satrap, and was adorned with a palace, probably erected by Xerxes, as well as with other establishments, and a park of such extent, as not only to afford room for great hunts of wild animals, but to permit an army of 12,000 men to encamp within its precincts. Through the middle of this park, says Xenophon, runs the river Mæander, but the head of it rises in the palace: it runs also through the city of Celænæ. A similar description is given of this river, by Quintius Curtius, in his life of Alexander the Great. The confluence of these two streams would naturally be below the city. In after ages, Celænæ was abandoned for a new city built by Antiochus Soter, son of Seleucus, which was surrounded by the streams of the Marsyas, Obrima, and Orga, which empty themselves into the Mæander. This city was called Apamea Kibotis.

According to Rennell, the modern Sandukly occupies the site of the ancient Celænæ. This place is actually situated on one of the sources

Lydian, who was considered the richest of mankind after Xerxes, entertained the Persian army with great magnificence, for which he was ill rewarded, as related on page 35 of this history.

As soon as the spring of the year arrived, B. C. 480, Xerxes left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. Being arrived at Abydos, he wished to witness a naval combat. A throne was erected for him upon an eminence, and in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, considering that he was the most powerful and the most happy of mortals. Reflecting, however, soon afterwards, that out of so many thousand, in a hundred years' time there would not be one living on the earth, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and instability of human things.

"———————— As down
The' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind;
While this reflection fill'd his eye with tears:
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one among those millions should survive!
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud?
Was it, that once humanity could touch
A tyrant's breast? Or, rather, did thy soul
Repine, O Xerxes, at the bitter thought,
That all thy power was mortal?"—GLOVER.

Xerxes might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself. He might have considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instru-

of the Mæander, now Meinder, which was generally allowed to have its principal source at Celænæ, and the branch is formed by some fine springs which flow from the foot of a ridge of lofty hills, as is reported of that city. Pliny calls the hill Sigria, and it lies sixty English miles direct north-east of Colosse, about the same distance south of Cotyæum, and 116 east of Sardis. Marmert, a German geographer, supposed Ophium Kara Hissar, which is twenty-two geographical miles north-east of Sandukly, to answer the site of the ancient Celænæ; and Dr. Pococke regarded Askkly as its site; but both these opinions are evidently erroneous. Neither the Marsius nor the Mæander exist at Ophium Kara Hissar, and Askkly is too far down the latter river to answer to the description. Kinneir thinks that Celænæ stood seven miles south of Kara Hissar, where there is a village embosomed in wood, said to be erected on the site of an ancient town, not far from one of the sources of the Mæander; so difficult is it to identify this ancient city of renown.

ment of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom he was going to sacrifice as victims to his cruel ambition.

Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness, took advantage of this moment of the workings of nature, and let him into farther reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy; endeavoring, at the same time, to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes to alleviate the sorrows of mankind.

In the same conversation, Xerxes asked Artabanus if he would still advise him not to make war upon Greece; and, for the moment, he himself appears to have been staggered at his mighty project. Artabanus replied, that the land and the sea still gave him great uneasiness: the land, because there is no country, said he, that can feed and maintain so numerous an army: and the sea, because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels. These objections, however, were overruled by Xerxes, and ambition again prevailing, the momentary irresolution was succeeded by a fixed determination to go forward.

Xerxes commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the Hellespont, for the transmission of his forces from Asia into Europe; which was a work of more ostentation than use, since Alexander, and afterwards the Ottomans, passed the same straits, in after ages, with less parade, and vastly greater effect. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, now the Dardanelles, is seven stadia in breadth, or nearly one English mile. A violent storm arose on a sudden, and broke down the bridge first erected; and appointed more experienced architects to build two others in its room, one for the army, and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. Major Rennel has ingeniously explained the construction of these two bridges, and shown the angle which they formed with each other, the one to resist the strong current from the Propontis, the other to withstand the strong winds in the Ægean Sea, each protecting the other.

Herodotus relates a story concerning the conduct of Xerxes on the occasion of the failure of the first bridge, the import of which is, that he threw two pair of chains into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and that he ordered 300 strokes to be given it, by way of chastisement. Now, water among the Persians was held to be one of the symbols of Divine nature. and this story may, therefore, be accounted fabu-

lous; for Xerxes would not have acted so directly opposite to the tenets of his religion. The perforation of Mount Athos, and the circumstance of sending a letter to it, threatening to throw it into the sea, may also justly be doubted. Xerxes was not one of the wisest of princes, but he certainly was no idiot; and these actions could only have been committed by a madman. They do not accord, moreover, with the anecdote that Xerxes, after having reviewed his army at Abydos, burst into tears upon reflecting on their short term of life.

When the second bridge was completed, a day was appointed for the commencement of their passage over. Accordingly, as soon as the first rays of the sun appeared, sweet odours of various kinds were spread over the bridges, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time, Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in his enterprize: this done, he threw the vessel he had used in making his libations, together with a golden cup and a Persian scimitar, into the sea. His army was seven days and seven nights in passing these straits. It was an immense host, but there were few real soldiers among them.

Xerxes spent a month at Doriscus, in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus, in reviewing and numbering his army and fleet.* From thence he marched southwards with his army in three divisions, attended by his fleet, through Thrace and Macedonia, several cities of which entertained him hospitably. Herodotus says, that the Thracians expended 400 talents of silver on a single banquet; and that a witty citizen told the Abderites, "they should bless Heaven that Xerxes did not require two repasts in the day, or they would be ruined."

Herodotus gives a minute account of the different amount of the various nations that constituted this army. Besides the generals of every nation, who commanded the troops of their respective country, the land army was under the command of six Persian generals, namely, Mardonius, Trintæhmes, Ma-

* Herodotus states, that the number of the followers of Xerxes was 5,283,220. Isocrates estimates the land army, in round numbers, at 5,000,000. Plutarch agrees with these statements; but Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and others writers of a later date, conceive that such statements are beyond the bounds of belief, and reduce the numbers to about one-fifth, which would still leave a mighty army, compared with the handful of soldiers Greece could oppose to such a force. The latter statement is more consistent with probability, and with the narrative of the results of the invasion, which the attentive reader will observe.

sistes, Smerdones, Gergis, and Megabyzus. The 10,000 Persians, called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had, also, its particular commanders. Rennel observes, that the Persians may be compared, in respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of seapoys and native troops.

Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous of reviewing the whole. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in turn, to all of whom he proposed question, the replies to which were noted down by his secretaries. The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army, is well described by Glover, in his "Leonidas:"

"The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
His trampling horses. High on silver wheels
The ivory car, with azure sapphires shones,
Cerulean beryls, and the jasper green,
The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
The pearl, the' empurpled amethyst, and all
The various gems which India's mines afford
To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold
A sculptured eagle from behind display'd
His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,
Which on the famed Nisæan plain were nursed,
In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.
* * * At the signal, bound
The attentive steeds: the chariot flies; behind
Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field;
Down to the sea-beat margin, on a plain
Of vast expansion, in battalia wait
The eastern bands. To these the' imperial wheels,
By princes followed in a hundred cars,
Proceed. The queen of Caria,* and her son,
With Hyperanthes rode. The king's approach
Swift through the wide arrangement is proclaim'd.
He now draws nigh. The' innumerable host
Roll back by nations, and admit their lord
With all his satraps. As from crystal domes,
Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,
When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,

* Justin observes of this woman: "Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with those of Xerxes, appeared amongst the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements. And as on the man's side there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage." Herodotus speaks to the same effect, and adds, that there was not one who gave such good advice and counsel to Xerxes; but he was not prudent enough to profit by it.

With each cerulean deity ascends,
Throned in his pearly chariot, all the deep
Divides its bosom to the' emerging god.
So Xerxes rode between the Asian world
On either side receding."

After viewing the land forces, Xerxes, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, reviewed his fleet in a similar manner, passing betwixt the prows of the ships and the shore. Elated at the prospect before him, when he had reviewed his forces, Xerxes asked Demaratus, an exiled king of Sparta, who had taken refuge at the Persian court,* whether he thought the Grecians would venture to oppose his progress through their country. After being assured by Xerxes that he wished him to speak his thoughts freely and sincerely, Demarates replied to the effect, that, bound by their laws to defend their country, they would conquer or die.

"——— Spread on Eurota's banks,
Amid a circling of soft rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood; the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city, which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.
Lycurgus there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a tempered state,
Where mix'd each government in each just poise,
Each power so checking, and supporting each,
That firm for ages and unmoved it stood,
The fort of Greece, without one giddy hour,
One shock of faction, or of party rage:
For, drained the springs of wealth, corruption there
Lay withered at the root. Thrice happy land,
Had not neglected art with weedy vice
Confounded sunk; but if Athenian arts
Loved not the soil, yet then the calm abode
Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,
Of manly sense, and wit, in frugal phrase,
Confined and press'd into laconic force;
There, too, by rooting thence still treacherous self,
The public and the private grew the same;
The children of the nursling, public all,
And at its table fed. For that they toil'd,
For that they lived entire, and ev'n for that
The tender mother urged her son to die."—THOMSON.

This is a just description of the people against whom Xerxes was leading his hosts; and though he laughed at the

* Demaratus was a favourite of Xerxes, because he suggested his plea to the crown in preference to his elder brother, on the grounds before recorded.

reply of Demaratus, he soon found that the battle is not always accorded to the strong, and that

"Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just."

The first information of this formidable invasion of Greece was given to the Lacedæmonians by Demaratus himself, whose patriotism prevailed over his private wrongs. By an ingenious stratagem, he carved an account of the king's determination on two tablets of wood, and then covered the writing with wax, so that they appeared to be blank tablets. When these were delivered at Sparta, they puzzled the people exceedingly, till Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, sagaciously removed the wax, when the alarming truth was revealed. The Lacedæmonians circulated the intelligence throughout the country.

Xerxes proceeded through Achaia and Thessaly, and without meeting any opposers, reached the famous and important straits of Thermopylæ, the key of Greece, while the Carnian and Olympic games were celebrating.

At this time, a furious Hellespontine wind, blowing from E. N. E., raised such a hurricane as destroyed and sunk 400 ships of war, besides an immense number of transports and provision vessels, at the promontory of Sepias. From this station they therefore removed to Apheta, further southward. The Grecian fleet, of 300 ships, assembled in their neighbourhood, at Artemisium, the northern promontory of the island of Eubœa, to oppose their passage southward.

The Greeks were not inactive whilst the enemy was approaching. They sent to Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, and to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succour from them, and to form a league against the common enemy. Gelon was prevented from joining them through his ambitious views; the inhabitants of Corcyra deceived them; and the people of Crete, having consulted the Delphic oracle, refused to enter into the league.

Added to these disappointments, was the defection of many other cities of Greece, of whom Xerxes had demanded by his heralds earth and water. Fear so wrought upon them generally, that none but the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and the people of Thespia, and Platæa, remained to combat the enemy. These were resolved to conquer or die; and the first thing they did in this emergency was to put an end to all discords and intestine divisions. Accordingly peace was concluded between the Athenians and the people of Ægina, who at this period were at war. This was a great point gained;

for their attention thereby was left undiverted from the coming danger, and they were enabled to direct the whole force of their genius to prevent its realization. This was the one object of their deliberations; and the result shows how wisely they acted.

The principal points of their deliberations were the choice of commanders, and at what place they should meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The Athenians chose Themistocles, and the Spartans conferred the supreme command of their forces upon Leonidas, one of their kings. The situation they adopted for the conflict was the straits of Thermopylæ.

The appellation, Thermopylæ, means "The Pass of the Hot Springs." On the north is an extensive bog, or fen, through which a narrow paved causeway offers the only approach to Greece. It is bordered on either side by a deep and impracticable morass, and it is further bounded by the sea towards the east, and the precipices of Mount Œta to the west. Here is situated the Turkish dervene, or barrier, upon a small narrow stone bridge, marking the most important point of the whole passage. It is still occupied by sentinels, as in ancient times, and is, therefore, even at the present time, considered as the pylæ of the southern provinces. The Thermæ, or hot springs, are at a short distance from the bridge, a little further on to the north. Their principal issue is from two mouths at the foot of the limestone precipices of Œta, on the left of the causeway which here passes close under the mountain, and at this part of it scarcely admits two horsemen abreast of each other. The most critical part is at the hot springs, or at the bridge where the Turkish dervene is placed. At the former, the traveller has the mountain close to him on the one side, and the bog on the other; and a few brave troops might, therefore, intercept the march of the mightiest army ever mustered.

It was at this situation that Xerxes found Leonidas waiting for him, with a band of only 6200 men. The haughty monarch was surprised to find that they were determined to dispute his passage. He had flattered himself that, on his approach, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight. Perceiving that this was not their disposition, he sent out a spy to view the enemy. This spy brought him word that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their entrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair. Such was the Spartan manner of

preparing themselves for battle, and it indicated that they were fully determined to conquer or die.

To such effect Demaratus informed Xerxes; but the monarch was still incredulous, and maintained his position for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat.

During this interval, Xerxes used his utmost endeavours to corrupt Leonidas, promising to make him master of all Greece if he would join his party. Leonidas rejected his proposals with contempt; and when Xerxes afterwards summoned him to surrender up his arms, he returned this laconic reply: "Come and take them."

On the fifth day, Xerxes, enraged at the pertinacity of the Greeks in retaining the pass, sent a detachment of Medes, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. These were defeated with great slaughter; and the Immortal Band, which were next sent against them, shared the same fate. After successive efforts, indeed, made with large bodies of their troops, to gain the pass, the Persians were obliged to desist from the attempt.

Xerxes was perplexed; but in the midst of his perplexity, treachery pointed out his path to Greece. One Epialtes, a Melian, in the hope of a great reward, discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, and which led to the rear of the Grecian camp. This point is beyond the hot springs, in the north, and it is still used by the inhabitants of the country in their journeys to Salona, the ancient Amphissa. Xerxes despatched a detachment thither, which, marching all night, possessed themselves of that advantageous post at day-break.

Leonidas saw his danger, and convinced that it was impossible to oppose successfully so overwhelming a force, with so small a number of troops, he obliged his allies to retire; but he remained himself with his 300 Lacedæmonians, resolving to die in their country's cause; in obedience to an oracle, which foretold that "either Sparta or her king must fall." Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented him:

"I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.
Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour
Which shall my country's liberty secure!
Thrice hail, thou solemn period! thee the tongues
Of virtue, fame, and freedom shall proclaim,
Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn."

Prodigies of valour were performed by this little band; but at length oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man,

who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country. The brave Leonidas was one of the first that fell on this memorable occasion. On the barrow, or tomb of this devoted band, an appropriate epitaph was inscribed, which reads thus:

> "The Lacedæmonians, O stranger, tell,
> That here, obeying their sacred laws, we fell."

Herodotus records that Xerxes lost on this occasion above 20,000 men, which probably is an exaggeration. It appears, however, that he was dismayed at the valour of the Lacedæmonians; for he interrogated Demaratus, if they had yet many such soldiers; to which he replied, that they numbered about 8000 equal in valour to those who had fallen. Herodotus also says, that he caused great numbers to be buried secretly, lest the remainder of his troops should be dismayed. Thus lightly could he sport with human life. Surely, in all ages of the world,

> "War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,
> Kings would not play at. Nations would do well
> To' extort their truncheons from the puny hands
> Of heroes, whose infirm and baby minds
> Are gratified with mischief; and who spoil
> Because men suffer it—their toy the world."—Cowper.

The same day on which the action at Thermopylæ occurred, the two fleets engaged at Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa. The fleet of the Grecians consisted of 271 vessels, exclusive of galleys and small boats: that of the enemy was much more numerous, notwithstanding its recent losses by the storm. The Persians sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the island of Eubœa, and encompass the Grecian fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The Greeks had intelligence of this design, and set sail in the night, in order to attack them by day-break. They missed this squadron, and advanced to Aphetæ, where the bulk of the Persian fleet lay, and after several brief encounters, they came to a considerable engagement, which was long and obstinately maintained, and resulted in nearly equal success.

Though the Persians suffered very severely, yet the Grecians suffered also, and half of their ships were disabled. Such being the case, they deemed it expedient to retire to some safer place to refit; and, accordingly, they sailed to Salamis, an island in the Saronic Bay, nearly midway be-

tween Athens and Corinth. Herodotus justly observes, that though the engagement at Artemisium did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the Greeks, who were now convinced that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, was not invincible. The struggle for liberty is

"——— A cause
Not often unsuccessful: power usurp'd
Is weakness when opposed: conscious of wrong,
'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
But slaves, that once conceive the glowing thought
Of freedom, in that hope itself possess
All that the contest calls for—spirit, strength,
The scorn of danger, and united hearts,
The surest presage of the good they seek."—COWPER.

After his inglorious victory over the brave Leonidas and his devoted companions, Xerxes passed through the country of Phocis, by the upper part of Doris, burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, intent only upon saving their own country, resolved to abandon the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the isthmus, the entrance of which they purposed securing by a strong wall, from one sea to the other, a space of nearly five English miles. The Athenians were provoked at this desertion, and seeing themselves ready to fall into the hands of the enraged Xerxes, consulted upon the best means of escape. Some time before they had consulted the oracle of Delphi, the replies of which, Dr. Hales observes, were truly remarkable. The burden of them was, that their city should be destroyed, and that they should escape only by taking refuge within wooden walls. Themistocles interpreted this to denote their fleet, and, accordingly the Athenian squadron took on board their families and effects, and deserted their city. Plutarch suspects (and this may form the key to these otherwise mysterious replies of the Pythian) that the oracle was indoctrinated by Themistocles, on this occasion, wishing to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen. His sagacity, also, would foresee that this was the only means by which his countrymen could escape destruction.

Xerxes, arriving in the neighbourhood of Athens, wasted the whole country, putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of Apollo, at Delphi, in which there were immense treasures.

Herodotus relates a romantic tale concerning the escape of

this temple from the violence of Xerxes. Thunder-bolts from heaven, he says, fell upon them; and two huge fragments from the tops of Parnassus rolled down with a great crash among them, and destroyed multitudes, while a shouting and clamour issued from the temple of the god. Depriving this tale of the preternatural machinery, it may be, that the priests planned a bold and uncommon stratagem, which they executed with equal prudence and courage, thereby delivering their temple from the spoiler. This will obtain more ample notice in the History of the Grecians.

The following lines, descriptive of the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are very appropriate:

> "Her olive groves now Attica displayed;
> The fields where Ceres first her gifts bestowed;
> The rocks, whose marble crevices the bees
> With sweetness stored: unparallel'd in art,
> Rose structures growing on the stranger's eye
> Wher'er it roam'd delighted. On like Death
> From his pale courser, scattering waste around,
> The regal homicide of nations pass'd,
> Unchaining all the furies of revenge
> On this devoted country."—GLOVER'S ATHENAID.

Arriving at Athens, Xerxes found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who had retired into the citadel, there to await death. That death was too soon found. They fell, fighting for their liberties, and Xerxes reduced the city to ashes. Exulting over the city, he despatched a messenger to Susa with the tidings of his success to his uncle Artabanus, in whose hands he had left the government during his absence.

Demosthenes has preserved a curious trait of the Athenian spirit on this occasion. One Cyrsilus, a citizen, advised the people to remain in the city, and receive Xerxes. The citizens indignantly stoned him to death, and the women his wife, as traitors to their country.

The affairs of Xerxes had hitherto been prosperous, notwithstanding his severe losses: they were now about to suffer a reverse. While he was triumphing over Athens, the Grecian fleet, being reinforced by a great many ships from several parts of Greece, Eurybiades, commander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council. Many contended, and among them was Eurybiades, that it would be better to retire to the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the army which guarded that passage, under the command of Cleom-

brotus, brother of Leonidas. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, contended that Salamis, where they were, was the most advantageous place they could choose to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. Eurybiades and the other commanders came over to his opinion, and it was unanimously resolved to wait for the Persian fleet in the straits of Salamis.

Xerxes, on his part, also held a council of his principal naval commanders, placing them according to their rank; the king of Sidon first,* the king of Tyre next, and the rest in order. The general opinion was in favour of the engagement; but queen Artemisia advised, either to remain in their present station, which would force the Grecian fleet, confined at Salamis, to separate soon for want of provisions, and retire to their respective homes, or else to sail towards Peloponnesus, in which case it was not to be imagined that the confederates would remain behind, or risk a battle for the sake of the Athenians, when their own country was threatened: whereas, from the superior seamanship of the Grecians, the Persian fleet would be in great danger of a defeat. This wise counsel was unheeded.

The same night on which the resolution for an engagement was taken, Xerxes made his army proceed towards the Isthmus of Corinth. Alarmed at this movement, the Peloponnesians at Salamis held a second council, in which they overruled the Athenians, Æginetes, and Megareans, and resolved to sail to the succour of the Peninsula. But it was too late.

> "Dissensions past, as puerile and vain,
> Now to forget, and nobly strive who best
> Shall serve his ancient country, Aristides warns
> His ancient foe, Themistocles. I hear
> Thou giv'st the best of counsels, which the Greeks
> Reject, through mean solicitude to fly.
> Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe
> Is stationed now, preventing all escape."—GLOVER.

This was the effect of artifice. Themistocles, foreseeing the result of a division of the Greek forces, sent a trusty friend by night to Xerxes, to apprise him of their design, and advise him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of attacking the Grecians when they were divided among themselves, and in-

* Dr. Hales says this precedence was due to the king of Sidon, because "Sidon was the eldest son of Ham," Gen. x. 15; profane history thereby according with sacred in this place, in a remarkable manner.

capable of resistance. Xerxes credited the report, and ordered the Persian fleet to range themselves in three divisions, and stretch across the bay, so as to cut off the retreat of the Greeks, and in that array to advance towards Salamis.

Imputing the ill success of his former engagements at sea to his own absence, Xerxes resolved to witness this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected. Around him were several scribes, after the manner of the Persian monarchs, who were to write down the names of such as should signalize themselves in the conflict. This was, no doubt, a wise arrangement, inasmuch as it tended to animate his hosts; rewards and honours being the only motives they had to incite them to deeds of arms.

> "—— Xerxes, who enthroned
> High on Ægaleos anxious state to view
> A scene which nature never yet display'd,
> Nor fancy feigned. The theatre was Greece,
> Mankind spectators, equal to that stage,
> Themistocles, great actor."—GLOVER.

When the Peloponnesians found themselves encompassed by the Persian armament, they prepared to share the same dangers with their allies. Both sides prepared for battle. The Grecian fleet consisted of 380 sail; that of the Persians, upwards of 2000. Themistocles avoided the engagement till a certain wind began to blow, as was the case each day about the same time, knowing that it would be unfavourable to the enemy. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind, he gave the signal for battle, which is thus finely described by Æschylus, who fought in this battle himself:—

> "Advance, ye sons of Greece, from thraldom save
> Your country, save your wives, your children save,
> The temples of your gods, the sacred tombs
> Where rest your honoured ancestors: this day
> The common cause of all demands your valour."

The engagement was desperate. The Persians, knowing that they fought under the monarch's eye, advanced with great resolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the size and number of their ships embarrassing them in a place so narrow, their courage soon abated. The Greeks noted this circumstance, and rushed onwards

> "—— Amidst the ruins of the fleet,
> As through a shoal of fish caught in the net,
> Spreading destruction."—ÆSCHYLUS.

The Ionians were the first that betook themselves to flight. Queen Artemisia had a narrow escape. Her galley was pursued by an Athenian vessel, commanded by the brother of the poet Æschylus, and would have been captured had she not turned suddenly upon one of her own side, a Calyndian vessel, with the commander of which she was on ill terms, attacked, and sunk it, with all the crew. Deceived by this stratagem, the Grecian, conceiving that she had now deserted the barbarians, quitted the pursuit. In the battle, she had behaved with such intrepidity, that Xerxes exclaimed, "My men are become women, and the women men." To a reflective mind, the sight would have been a pitiful one. To woman belongs only the offices of love and tender affection. These are her prerogatives; and when they are laid aside for the savage din of war, the corruption of the human heart is exhibited in its most fearful forms. Many such, however, are instanced in the annals of profane history; and it may be safely asserted, that this was one of the bitter fruits of paganism. In the school of Christianity, woman is taught to walk the earth as an angel of mercy, to soothe the rugged path of human life.

Such was the battle of Salamis, one of the most memorable actions recorded in ancient history. According to Plutarch, it was fought on the 20th of the Attic month Boedromion, corresponding to the 15th of September, B. C. 480, which was the sixth day of the Eleusinian rites,* on which the procession of the mystic Iacchus was held by the Greeks.

"A king sate on a rocky brow,
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations;—all were his!
He counted them at break of day,
But when the sun set, where were they?"

Themistocles, taking advantage of the alarm of Xerxes caused by his defeat, contrived, in order to hasten his departure from Greece, to inform him that it was the intention of the Greeks to break down the bridge over the Hellespont. Xerxes immediately sent the remainder of his fleet thither to protect it, and to secure his retreat. This he commenced

* So called, it is said, from Eleusis, son of Mercury. The Eleusinians submitted to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the exclusive privilege of celebrating these mysteries, which proved to them a source of great wealth.

under cover of the night, leaving Mardonius, with an army of 300,000 men, to subdue Greece.

The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have renewed the combat the next day, having learned that the fleet had departed, pursued it as fast as they could. But it was to no purpose. They had destroyed 200 of the enemy's ships, besides those which they had captured: the rest, having suffered by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and finally entered into the port of Cumæ, a city of Ætolia, where they passed the winter. They returned no more into Greece.

Xerxes marched with a portion of his army towards the Hellespont. As no victuals had been provided for them, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted forty-five days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army, and great numbers died, so that he arrived at the Hellespont with "scarcely a pittance of his army."

When Xerxes reached the Hellespont, he found the bridge already broken down and destroyed by storms. His fleet, however, conveyed him and the shattered remains of his host from the Chersonese to Abydos, on the coast of Asia, whence he returned to Sardis, where he remained during the continuance of the war.*

The earliest care of the Grecians after the battle of Salamis was to send the first-fruits of their victory to Delphi, where they encircled the temple with the spoils of those who not long before sought to pillage it. Their next thought was to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest, and by universal consent this honour was bestowed upon Themistocles.

But the liberty of the Greeks was not yet secure. Xerxes had commenced this unjust war by the advice of Mardonius; hence it was that when the monarch was defeated at Salamis, Mardonius, for fear he should feel the royal vengeance, deemed it better to propose the subjugation of Greece by his means, or in some great effort to meet death. His counsel to Xerxes,

* By some historians Xerxes is said to have passed over the Hellespont in a fishing boat. Herodotus rejects this story; and the whole of the narration of this event does appear to be introduced to calumniate Xerxes, whence it is rejected in these pages.

as narrated by Herodotus, is graphically given by Glover in his Athenaid :—

> "Be not discourag'd, sovereign of the world!
> Not oars, not sails and timber can decide
> Thy enterprise sublime. In shifting strife,
> By winds and billows governed, may contend
> The sons of traffic. On the solid plain
> The generous steed and soldier ; they alone
> Thy glory must establish, where no swell
> Of fickle floods, nor breath of casual gales
> Assist the skilful coward, and control
> By nature's wanton, but resistless might,
> The brave man's arm."

Mardonius concluded with offering himself for the enterprise, which was accepted. The haughty monarch had not yet been taught wisdom by the lesson of adversity,—had not yet learned the lesson of mercy from a sight of suffering humanity.

On the approach of spring, B. C. 479, Mardonius made an attempt to gain over the Athenians, and draw them off from the confederacy. With this view, he sent Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, with very advantageous offers. These offers were, to rebuild, at the king's charge, their city, and every other edifice demolished the year before in Attica ; to suffer them to live according to their own laws ; to reinstate them in all their former possessions ; and to bestow on them what other dominions they might desire.

Steady to the common cause, the Athenians replied, "Tell Mardonius, Thus say the Athenians, Whilst the sun holds its course, we will never compromise with Xerxes ; but relying on the aid of the gods and heroes, whose temples and statues he has contemptuously burned, we resolve to resist him to the last extremity. And as for you, Alexander, appear no more among the Athenians with such messages ; nor, under colour of rendering us good offices, exert us to do what is abominable. For we wish not that you should suffer any unpleasant treatment on the part of the Athenians, as being a guest as well as a friend." Then turning to the Spartan deputies, who were fearful lest they should come to an accommodation with Xerxes, they said, "Not all the gold in the world, nor the greatest, richest, and most beautiful country, shall ever tempt us to enslave Greece. Many and cogent reasons forbid us to do this, even if we were so disposed : the first and greatest is, the temples and statues of the gods, burned and reduced to ashes, which we are bound to

avenge to the uttermost, rather than compromise with the perpetrator; in the next place the Grecian commonwealth, all of the same blood and same language, having common altars and sacrifices of the gods, and similar customs, which it would not well become Athenians to betray. Know, therefore, now, if ye knew it not before, that whilst one of the Athenians shall survive, we never will compromise with Xerxes. We admire your forethought with respect to us, now that our houses and harvests are destroyed, in offering to entertain our families, and we thank you abundantly; but we shall seek to procure subsistence without burdening you. In the present posture of affairs, be it your care to bring your forces into the field with as much expedition as possible; for the barbarian* will not fail to invade our territories, so soon as he shall hear the account of our utter refusal to comply with his proposals. Before he shall be able to penetrate into Attica, it becomes us to march into Bœotia, and divert his attention to that quarter."

As the Greeks foresaw, so it happened. As soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the fixed resolutions of the Athenians, he led his troops from Thessaly into Attica, wasting and destroying the whole country over which he passed, and collecting troops from every quarter. On his way through Bœotia, the Thebans advised him to halt and encamp in their country, as the most convenient; and by so doing, he might reduce all Greece, by bribing the leading men in the several states.

Had Mardonius listened to this treacherous counsel, it is possible Greece would have been conquered. It was overruled, however, by his desire to take Athens a second time, and his vanity; for he wished to show the king at Sardis, by fire signals, stationed throughout the islands, that he was in possession of that city. Mardonius entered Athens, which he found deserted, in the tenth month after it had been taken by Xerxes, and he demolished whatever had escaped the monarch's fury.

Not being able to withstand such a torrent alone, the Athenians again retired to Salamis. Mardonius still entertained hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, and sent another deputy to renew the former proposals. Lycidas, a member of the council of five hundred, either approving

* The term "barbarians" was used by the ancients in a much milder sense than we use it: generally it imports strangers, occasionally an enemy, in which sense it is here used.

the proposals, or bribed by Mardonius, recommended that they should be referred to the people. Fired with indignation, the Athenians gathered round him, and stoned him to death; and the women, following their example, rushed to his house, and stoned his wife and children. By this second tragedy, Mardonius perceived they were obstinately determined to carry on the war till either he should be expelled, or they buried in the ruins of their country.

In the mean time, the Athenians had sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of their tardiness, their breach of promise, and desertion of the common cause, in not opposing the enemy in Bœotia; and next to require that they would send an army to their assistance, in order that they might oppose him in Attica, recommending the Thracian plain as the fittest to give him battle. Freed from immediate danger, the Peloponnesians seemed careless about the matter; but at length, fearing that the Athenians, who were exasperated at their conduct, would realize their threat of quitting the confederacy, making peace with the king, and becoming his allies, they sent off hastily a force of 5000 troops to their assistance, toward the isthmus.

Mardonius, discovering this, and fearing to be attacked by the confederates in Attica, which was disadvantageous for his cavalry, and if defeated by them, to be intercepted in the narrow passes, retired into Bœotia. When he reached the Theban territory, which was convenient for his cavalry, in which his chief strength consisted, he fortified a large camp near the river Asopus, for a place of refuge should he be defeated.

The disposition which prevailed amongst the Persians at this time, and the fear that possessed them respecting the issue of the campaign, is well illustrated by an anecdote related by Herodotus: "Whilst the barbarians were employed on this work, Attaginus, a Theban, prepared a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius, and fifty Persians were invited. At table, they chequered, a Persian and a Theban reclining on every couch.* After supper, as they were drinking freely, the Persian who was the associate of Thersander, a man of the first consideration at Orchomenos, asked him in Greek what countryman he was; and when he answered, 'An Orchomenian,' the Persian proceeded thus: 'Since you and I share the the same table, and the same liba-

* In more remote times, the ancients sat round a table as we do, as we read in Homer. This passage shows, however, that the custom of reclining on a couch at meals was of a very early date.

tions, I wish to leave you a memorial of my sentiments, that being forewarned, you may have an opportunity of consulting your own interest. Do you see those Persians at supper, and the army which we left encamped on the banks of the river? Of all these, in a very short space of time, you will see very few surviving!' Saying this, the Persian shed many tears. Thersander, astonished at the remark, replied, 'Does it not become you to communicate this to Mardonius, and those next him in dignity?' 'My friend,' returned the Persian, 'it is not for man to counteract the decisions of Providence. None of them are willing to hearken to faithful advisers. A multitude of Persians share the same sentiments with me; but, like me, they follow on from necessity. Nothing in human life is more deeply to be regretted, than that the wise man's voice should be disregarded.'" "This," says Herodotus, "I heard from Thersander, the Orchomenian, who also told me that he had communicated the same to many before the battle of Platæa."

Æschylus, with powerful effect, has put a similar prediction in the mouth of the ghost of Darius, when evoked by Atossa and the chorus:

> " ———— In Platæa's plains,
> Beneath the Doric spear, the clotted mass
> Of carnage shall arise: that the high mounds,
> Piled o'er the dead, to late posterity
> Shall give this silent record to men's eyes:
> *That proud aspiring thoughts but ill beseem*
> *Weak mortals!* For oppression, where it springs,
> Puts forth the blades of vengeance, and its fruit
> Yields a ripe harvest of repentant woe."

Shortly before the battle of Platæa, Mardonius was furnished with a striking specimen of Grecian spirit. Among his auxiliaries, he was joined by a body of a thousand Phocians, who were driven to his ranks from necessity. Either suspecting their fidelity, or to prove their courage, Mardonius menaced them with destruction by his cavalry, which surrounded them on all sides. The Phocian commander exhorted his men to "die like heroes," and to show that they were Grecians: upon which they faced about every way, and closed their ranks in column. The Persian cavalry retired, as Mardonius had directed, and he sent a herald to inform them that he only meant to test their courage, and exhorted them to act with alacrity in the war, at the same time holding out large promises of reward for their services.

Roused by the example of the Lacedæmonians, the rest of the Peloponnesians prepared to prosecute the war with vigour. They raised their quotas, and joined the Lacedæmonians and Athenians at the isthmus. From thence they marched into Bœotia, to Mount Cithæron, in the neighbourhood of the Persian army. Their army was under the command of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Aristides, commander-in-chief of the Athenians. Mardonius, in order to try the courage of the Greeks, sent out his cavalry to skirmish with the enemy. This led to a fierce engagement, wherein the Persians were routed, and their leader, Masistius, who was next in consideration to Mardonius himself, slain; an event which caused great dismay and sorrow in the Persian army. To denote their grief for the loss of Masistius, they cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses, and all Bœotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. After this conflict, the Grecians removed to Platæa, not far from Thebes.

The army of the Greeks consisted of 110,000 men, the flower of which were the Lacedæmonians, Tegeatæ, and Athenians, who numbered in the whole 19,500 men. The Persian army, it is said, amounted to 300,000 men, besides 50,000 Grecians who joined them voluntarily, as the Thebans, or by compulsion, as the Phocians, Thessalians, and others.

From superstitious motives,* the two armies remained in their posts for ten days, encamped on each side of the river Asopus. Mardonius, who was of an impatient temper, grew uneasy at so long a delay. Famine, also, was menacing him, for he had only a few days' provisions for his army. Accordingly, he held a council of war, and, contrary to the wise counsel of Artabazus, who advised Mardonius to retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be able to obtain forage and provisions, and eventually to prevail on some of the confederates by bribes to desert the common cause, a battle was decided upon the next day.

* The soothsayers, upon inspecting the entrails of the victims, according to Herodotus, foretold to both parties that they should be victorious if they acted only upon the defensive; and threatened them with an utter overthrow if they made the first attack.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well: if anything was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was unfortunate; if the liver was bad, they inspected no farther. Thus, it may be seen, that their replies depended solely upon the choice of the animal.

The attack was to be made by surprise; but Alexander of Macedon came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed; an event to which Glover alludes in his "Athenaid:"

"——— Aristides hastes:
To whom the stranger:—Bulwark of this camp!
Hear, credit, weigh the tidings which I bear:
Mardonius, press'd by fear of threatening want,
At night's fourth watch the fatal stream will pass,
Inflexibly determined, though forbid
By each diviner, to assail your host
With all his numbers. I, against surprise,
Am come to warn you: thee alone I trust,
My name revealing.
I who thus hazard both my realm and life,
Am Alexander, Macedonian friend
Of Athens. Kindly, on a future day,
Remember me."

Acting upon this timely information, the Greek generals ordered their officers to prepare for battle. The next day, however, passed, without any decisive engagement, and night coming on, numbers of the Greeks deserted from the confederate army, in order to escape the enemy's cavalry, which had annoyed them greatly; and, retiring about twenty stadia towards Platæa, they encamped near the temple of Juno, opposite to the city.

The movement of these deserters brought on a general engagement on the ensuing day. Mardonius, imagining that the foe fled before him, led on his army, shouting as though they were sure of their prey. As soon, however, as they had passed the Asopus, they encountered the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and Tegeans, to the number of 53,000 men, which led to a general engagement, in which the Persians were completely defeated, chiefly by the determined valour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Mardonius himself was slain, and of the Persian host, according to the Greek historians, not more than 3000 escaped, except a select body of 40,000 men, under the command of Artabazus, who marched with all expedition towards the Hellespont, whence he transported the remnant (for many of these were slain by the Thracians, or died with fatigue and hunger on the way) from Byzantium, or Constantinople, to Asia. The loss of the Grecians, according to Plutarch, amounted only to 1360 men. The spoils taken from the Persians were immense, consisting of vast sums of money, gold and silver cups, vessels,

tables, bracelets, and all kinds of furniture. The tenth of these, after devoting a certain portion to sacred purposes, was given to Pausanias, and the others were rewarded each according to his merit.

Diodorus Siculus says, that the battle of Platæa was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, when Xanthippus was archon of Athens, B. C. 470, and on the third or fourth day of the month Boedromion, corresponding to the 28th or 29th of August, nearly a twelvemonth after the battle of Salamis.

The day on which the Greeks gained the victory at Platæa is memorable for another gained by their fleet over that of the Persians, at Mycale, in Ionia, wherein most of the Persians were put to the sword, their ships burned, and immense booty captured. This battle was fought in the evening, and that of Platæa in the morning. They were each decisive in their nature. By them the great designs of Xerxes were frustrated, and the liberties of Greece and of Ionia (colonized from Greece) restored and secured. Nor were the benefits resulting from these contests of a momentary nature. They freed Europe for ages from Asiatic invasion, during the subsistence of the Persian monarchy, and even till the erection of the fanatical empires of the Saracens and Turks, of whom the one subverted the Constantinopolitan empire, and the other penetrated through Africa into Spain.

The Persian invasion, says Dr. Hales, furnishes a salutary and awakening lesson to all free states to dispute their liberties to the last, and never to compromise with the enemy, let them be ever so numerous and formidable. It affords, also, a striking comment upon the words of the psalmist:

> "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host:
> A mighty man is not delivered by much strength."
> *Psa.* xxxiii. 16.

Victory belongs unto God alone; and none can read the account of this struggle for liberty, without observing his overruling providence in the result. A little band of patriots, inflexibly determined to conquer or die in their country's cause, to preserve their religion, their laws, and their liberty, triumphed over the mightiest host that was ever assembled for the purposes of desolation. Who gave success? Not Jove, or Juno, or Mercury, or Ceres, or Bacchus, or any of the fabled gods of Greece, but HIM in whom are "the issues of life and death," and who overrules all events on earth for his

own glory. What, though both the armies of the Persians and Grecians were pagans, He ruled over them; and though they were unmindful of Him, the one was exalted, and the other humbled by his Almighty hand. To ourselves, the patriotism of the Greeks reads an important lesson. If they fought so nobly, and struggled so ardently, for their religion, laws, and liberiy, which were all founded on the principles of paganism, surely we ought to prize our own, which are established upon the enlightened and broad foundations of Christianity, and to contend for their maintenance against the host of infidel foes with which we are surrounded. Our weapons, it must be remembered, and that with thankfulness, are not, at the present day, those of life-destroying steel; we need only use "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Christian patriots, wield this to the honour of God, and the salvation of mankind; for the principles of infidelity are as subversive of order in the state, and as destructive of domestic happiness, as the hosts of Xerxes in their wild career.

> "Or own the soul immortal, or invert
> All order."—YOUNG.

The defeat of the Persians at Mycale, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, drove Xerxes from that city, where he had resided since he retired from Greece. He was driven with disgrace and dismay to Susa, his capital. His route thither was marked by plunder and devastation through Asia. He pillaged and destroyed all the Grecian temples in his way;* nor did he respect even the ancient and venerated temple of Belus at Babylon. He carried off from thence a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, probably the work of Nebuchadnezzar, as mentioned Dan. iii. 1, and slew the high priest, who endeavoured to prevent conduct which he deemed sacrilege. Perhaps the desire of making himself amends for the expenses incurred in his Grecian expedition, might be a prevailing motive for such proceedings; for it is certain he found immense treasures in the temples, which had been amassed through the superstition of princes and people during a long series of ages, or been deposited there for safety.

The remainder of the reign of this "son of violence," as he was described by the Grecian oracles, was clouded by the most horrid and unnatural crimes, raging through, and

* Xerxes spared only two temples in the Grecian war; those of Apollo at Delos, and of Diana at Ephesus.

ravaging his own household and his own family. The atrocious and complicated injuries which he committed upon the family of Masistes, his brother, and over which we draw a veil, so roused the indignation of that prince, that he fled with his sons and some attendants towards Bactria, of which he was governor, intending to rouse the warlike Sacæ to revolt. Xerxes apprehending this, intercepted him on the way, and put him, his sons, and his adherents to death. To crown the horrid measures of his cruelties, in a transport of rage, he slew his own mother Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to whose influence he owed the crown. These atrocities at length, however, drew down vengeance upon his head. His chamberlain, Mithridates, introduced into his bed-chamber at night Artabanus, the captain of the guards, who assassinated him while he slept, B. C. 464.

> "O joyless power, that stands by lawless force!
> Curses are his dire portion, scorn, and hate,
> Internal darkness, and unquiet breath;
> And if old judgments keep their sacred course,
> Him from that height shall Heaven precipitate
> By violent and ignominious death."—WORDSWORTH.

It was wisely said by the psalmist, that

> "Evil shall hunt the violent man to overthrow him."—*Psa.* cxl. 11.

After the murder of Xerxes, Artabanus meditated securing the crown for himself, by the annihilation of the whole of the royal family. He falsely accused the eldest son, the hapless Darius, of killing Xerxes, to the third Artaxerxes, and prevailed on him, through fear of death himself, rashly to consent to the assassination of Darius, after which he placed

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS

upon the throne, in exclusion of Hystaspes, the second son, who was governor of the province of Bactria, in which he had succeeded Masistes, intending to put him away in his turn. But his career of wickedness was brief. Artaxerxes anticipated his treason, and cut off Artabanus and his family before his plans were ripe for execution. Thus the mischief that he designed for, and which he had brought upon others, returned upon his own head.

After this, Artaxerxes was called upon to sustain a war with his brother Hystaspes, who claimed the throne. The unhallowed conflict continued for two years, when Hystaspes

was defeated, and Artaxerxes secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent further disturbances, he placed governors in every province, on whose fidelity he could depend; after which he applied himself to the reform of abuses in the government.

Artaxerxes Longimanus is celebrated as the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, and some other parts of the Scripture. In the third year of his reign, Ahasuerus gave a sumptuous entertainment, and sent for his queen Vashti to grace the banquet. This mandate was contrary to oriental notions, and the queen refused to obey; but the monarch being inflamed with wine, was enraged at her refusal, and consulted with his sycophant council what steps he should take to punish her for her disobedience. They represented that her disobedience to her husband was likely to have the worst effects upon society at large, and advised, as a prevention, that she should be discarded from his presence. Their advice was listened to; he deposed her for her contumacy: upon which it has been said,

> "Severe the punishment for so slight a fault,
> If it was indeed a fault."

After a probation of four years, he chose Esther, an orphan Jewess, who possessed peculiar gracefulness and beauty, to be his queen, in preference to all the virgins who were candidates for that dignity.

In the fifth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, B. C. 459, the Egyptians revolted, and chose Inarus, a Libyan prince, for their king. The Egyptians called in the Athenians to their assistance, who having a fleet of forty sail lying off the island of Cyprus, considered it a favourable opportunity of weakening the Persian power, and sailed to Egypt for that purpose. [The particulars of this revolt will be found in the History of the Egyptians.]

In the seventh year of his reign, B. C. 457, Artaxerxes issued a decree, empowering Ezra, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, to go to Judea, to restore and enforce the law of Moses, to appoint magistrates and judges throughout the land, and to punish all transgressors of the law with confiscation of goods, banishment, or death, Ezra vii. 1—26.

The Jews, however, were in great danger of extirpation by the edicts of this monarch in the fourteenth year of his reign, B. C. 450. Haman, the Amalekite, an inveterate foe of the Jewish nation, and a lineal descendant of Agag, the king of

the Amalekites, in the days of the prophet Samuel, (1 Sam. xv. 33,) was at this date prime minister of Persia. Haman, who was an ambitious and revengeful man, had an undue ascendancy over the mind of the monarch, which he failed not to use for his own unhallowed purposes. On one occasion, he obtained a royal edict for all persons to do him homage. The servile multitude respected this edict; but Mordecai, the kinsman of Esther, doubtless from some scruple of conscience, refused to bow the knee to the Amalekite. Haman's haughty spirit could not brook such a slight, and he resolved to take revenge of the most ample, unjust, and sanguinary nature. For this one man's offence he sought the destruction of the Jewish race; thus displaying the ancient enmity of the Amalekite towards Israel, as well as his own personal revenge. Haman proposed this measure to the king, alleging that the Jews were dangerous to the state; and Artaxerxes, in a moment of weakness, passed a royal decree for their public proscription and massacre throughout the Persian dominions. After much deliberation of the conspirators, in selecting the most lucky days, it was determined that the tragical event should take place on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar.

In the meantime this dreadful plot was defeated by the piety and address of Esther the queen, and turned upon Haman himself, who was destroyed, with all his family. Thus did this wicked man fall into the snare which he had laid for others, and his name stands in the page of history as a warning to mankind of every generation not to encourage those evil passions incident to human nature from the fall—ambition and revenge. See Esther iii.—viii. Thus, also, did God exhibit his providential care over his people, from whence the Christian may take courage in his pilgrimage on earth. If Israel according to the flesh was tenderly watched over by the great Father of mankind, how much more shall the spiritual Israel share in his Divine and watchful care!

On this occasion was displayed the mischievous effect of that law of the Medes and Persians, which set forth that the king's decree, when signed by him, and sealed with his seal, could not be revoked. Artaxerxes was obliged to issue a counter decree, empowering the Jews to arm themselves in self-defence, and to slay all those who might attack them. The result of this was, the slaughter of 75,000 men, among whom were the ten sons of Haman. See Esther ix.

The Greeks, who sailed to the rescue of Egypt under the

command of Inarus, as related in that history, defeated the Persians in the first battle, and slew their leader Achæmenes. Afterwards, the Persian monarch having assembled an overwhelming force, re-established his authority in Egypt, and expelled the Greeks from that country, as well as Amyrtæus, who fought for the Egyptian crown. In the year B. C. 450, however, the Athenians exerted themselves to send another fleet of 200 sail to Cyprus, under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, whence he sent sixty sail to the assistance of Amyrtæus, in the fens. Artabazus, the Persian admiral, being then off the island of Cyprus, with a fleet of 300 ships, Cimon attacked and defeated him, and took the third part of his ships, and destroyed many more. He pursued the rest to Cilicia, and landing his men by stratagem, as if Persians, he surprised and defeated Megabyzus at Eurymedon, whose army consisted of 300,000 men, and returned to Cyprus with a double triumph.

Artaxerxes, acting upon the advice of his council, now sought an accommodation with the Athenians. His proposals were listened to; and accordingly they sent ambassadors to Susa, amongst whom was Callias; and the Persians on their side sent Artabanes and Megabyzus to Athens. The conditions of peace were very humiliating to the Persian monarch. They were as follows:—1. That all the Greek cities in Asia Minor should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That no Persian governor of the provinces should march an army within three days' journey of the coast. 3. That no Persian ship of war should sail between the Cyanean rocks, at the northern extremity of the Thracian Bosporus, and the Chelidonian Isles, near the southern promontory of Lycia; thus excluding the Persians from the entire Ægean Sea, and that part of the Mediterranean bordering upon Asia Minor. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia.

This peace, so advantageous to the Athenian states, established the independence of the Grecian colonies on the Asiatic coast. It was concluded B. C. 449, in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, thirty years after the victories of Platæa and Mycale, and forty years after the first Persian invasion of Greece. The loss of life was immense during this period, and the blood that was shed in the various conflicts must stain the memory of all those at whose instigation it was undertaken throughout all generations.

Ye monarchs, whom the lure of honour draws,
Who write in blood the merits of your cause,
Who strike the blow, then plead your own defence,
Glory your aim, but justice your pretence;
Behold in Ætna's emblematic fires
The mischiefs your ambitious pride inspires!
* * * * *
The trumpet sounds, your legions swarm abroad;
Through the ripe harvest lies their destined road:
At every step beneath their feet they tread
The life of multitudes, a nation's bread!
Earth seems a garden in its loveliest dress
Before them, and behind a wilderness.
Famine and pestilence, her first-born sons,
Attend to finish what the sword begun;
And echoing praises, such as fiends might earn,
And folly pays, resound at your return.
A calm succeeds—but plenty, with her train
Of heartfelt joys, succeeds not soon again;
And years of pining indigence must show
What scourges are the gods that rule below."—COWPER.

In the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, B. C. 444, he granted to the Jews that permission which he had long refused, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. This favour was granted at the instance of Nehemiah, whom he appointed tirshatha, or governor of Judea. Nehemiah was empowered to repair the wall, and set up the gates, to build a palace for himself, and afterwards to rebuild the city; and, in conjunction with Ezra, the priest and scribe, to establish the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the nation, all which he accomplished—notwithstanding he met with great opposition from Sanballat the Samaritan and his army, Tobiah the Ammonite, the Arabians, and the Ashdodites—in the course of his administration of twelve years. See Nehemiah ii.—iv.; vi. 15; vii. 1—4; and xi. 1, 2.

This change in the conduct of Artaxerxes respecting the Jews, says Dr. Hales, may be accounted for upon sound political principles, and not merely from regard to the solicitations of Nehemiah, or the influence of his queen; and the humiliating conditions of the treaty with the Athenians corroborates this opinion. Thus excluded from the whole line of sea coast, Dr. Hales adds, and precluded from keeping garrisons in any of the maritime towns, it became a matter both of prudence and necessity to conciliate the Jews, to attach them to the Persian interest, and detach them from the Grecian, by further privileges, that the Persians might have the benefit of a friendly fortified town like Jerusalem, within three days'

journey of the sea, and a most important pass, to keep open the communication between Persia and Egypt. To confirm this conjecture, it may be remarked, that in all the ensuing Egyptian wars the Jews remained faithful to the Persians, and even after the Macedonian invasion; and it may reasonably be supposed, that Artaxerxes had some such argument as this to oppose to the jealousy and displeasure this measure excited in the neighbouring provinces hostile to the Jews, whose remonstrances had so much weight with him in former days.

In the engagement in which the Greeks had been driven from Egypt, Inarus, and a body of his auxiliaries, had surrendered themselves to the Persian monarch, after obtaining a promise of pardon from Megabyzus. The queen-mother, a haughty and cruel princess, enraged at the loss of her son Achæmenes, entreated Artaxerxes to violate the capitulation granted to Inarus by Megabyzus, and to deliver the prisoners taken at Byblus to her revenge. He resisted the proposal for five years, but was at length wearied into compliance, and the unhappy captives perished by cruel tortures. Indignant at such conduct, Megabyzus revolted, (B. C. 447,) and being supported by the Syrians, repeatedly defeated the royal forces. He was at length allowed to dictate his own terms, and he returned to court. Shortly after, however, he was perfidiously seized for the slight offence of shooting a lion at a royal hunt before the king had discharged his arrow, and he was condemned to perpetual exile at Cyrta, a city standing on the Red Sea. This cruelty provoked afresh the hostility of the sons and friends of Megabyzus, whose turbulence again disturbed the state; but after five years' banishment, he secretly returned to Susa, when, by the intercession of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death. To Megabyzus the king of Persia owed both his life and crown, when he ascended the throne, which makes his conduct appear in a more unfavourable light: it may be, that the monarch envied the renown of the valour and wisdom of Megabyzus, for he was the best counsellor and greatest general of the Persian empire.

In the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, the oppressive system of the Athenian policy armed the confederates against that state in the Peloponnesian war, which lasted twenty-seven years, ending in the overthrow of the Athenian dominion. The assistance of Artaxerxes was sought by both parties, but he wisely declined to assist either. The Atheni-

ans sent another embassy, but when they reached Ephesus they received news of the death of Artaxerxes.

> "Put not your trust in princes,
> Nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.
> His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth;
> In that very day his thoughts perish."—*Psa.* cxlvi. 3, 4.

By Persian writers, Artaxerxes was surnamed Bahaman, signifying "kind," or "beneficent." According to Thucydides, his favourite maxim was, that "the gates of a king should never be shut." He carried this noble maxim into practice with Themistocles, who had done so much mischief to Persia, and for whose head he had offered a reward of 200 talents, (nearly 40,000*l.*,) on his accession to the throne. When banished from Greece and every part of Europe by the inveterate persecution of his countrymen, he threw himself upon the mercy of Artaxerxes, who, as we have seen in the history of the polity of Persia, made a princely provision for him. Themistocles used to say to his children, in reference to this treatment, "We should have been undone if we had not been undone;" and the strongest inducement afterwards held out by any Persian to a Greek was, that "he should live with him, as Themistocles did with Artaxerxes."

The chief praise due to Artaxerxes is the regard he had for the temple of Jehovah, as displayed in these verses: "And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily, unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing how much. Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven; for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons? Also we certify you, that touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom, upon them. And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know them not. And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him,

whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment," Ezra vii. 21—26. This decree shows that Artaxerxes was acquainted with the true religion; and Dr. Hales rightly observes, that "he was happy in two such master-counsellors as Ezra and Nehemiah."

On the death of Artaxerxes, B. C. 423, his only legitimate son,

XERXES II.,

ascended the throne. Within forty-five days, however, Xerxes was murdered by his natural brother

SOGDIANUS,

who usurped the throne, but was quickly deposed* by another illegitimate prince, Ochus, who, on his accession, took the name of

DARIUS II.,

but who is usually called Nothus, that is, "illegitimate," to distinguish him from the other princes of the same title.

The reign of Darius Nothus was turbulent and unfortunate. His own brother Arsites, born of the same mother, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by Ochus, first rebelled against him, but he was decoyed into a surrender, and smothered in ashes, a death Sogdianus had previously suffered. Arsites was assisted in his rebellion by Artyphius, son of Megabyzus, who shared a similar fate.

One of the most dangerous rebellions Darius Nothus had to encounter occurred in Lydia. Pisuthnes, governor of that province, was ambitious of making himself king, for which purpose he enlisted in his service a body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes against this opponent, giving him, at the same time, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. By bribes and promises, Tissaphernes brought over the Greeks to his side, and Pisuthnes thus weakened, was compelled to surrender. A promise of pardon was held out to him, but the instant he was brought be-

* The two brief reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus, amounting only to eight months, are omitted in Ptolemy's canon, but their amount is included in the last year of Artaxerxes, according to his usage.

fore the king he was doomed to undergo the same cruel death as Sogdianus and Arsites. The death of Pisuthnes, however, did not put an end to all danger in this quarter. Amorgas, his son, with the remainder of his army, withstood Tissaphernes, and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till at length he was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus in Iasus, a city of Ionia, who delivered him up to Tissaphernes, by whom he was put to death.

A plot within the precincts of his own court had nearly proved fatal to Darius. Three eunuchs had usurped all power therein, but one of these three presided over and governed the rest. This man, whose name was Artoxares, had wormed himself into the confidence of Darius. He had studied all his passions, in order to indulge them, and govern the monarch by their means. He plunged him continually in pleasures and amusements, to engross the whole authority to himself. Under the name and protection of queen Parysatis, indeed, to whose will and pleasure he was devoted, he disposed of all the affairs of the empire. The name only of king was wanting, and, to obtain this, he formed a design to rid himself of Darius, and ascend the throne. The plot, however, was discovered, and he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, by whom he was put to a cruel and ignominious death.

By this it will be perceived, that eunuchs had at this date acquired considerable power in the court of Persia: at a later period they governed absolutely in it, to the great danger of the princes. Some idea may be formed of their character by the picture which Dioclesian, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of the freedmen who had gained a like ascendancy over the Roman emperors. "Four or five persons," says he, "who are closely united, and resolutely determined to impose on a prince, may do it very easily. They never show things to him but in such a light as they are sure will please. They conceal whatever would contribute to enlighten him; and as they alone beset him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their channel, and knows nothing but what they think fit to suggest to him. Hence it is that he bestows employments on those whom he ought to exclude from them; and, on the other side, removes from offices such persons as are most worthy of filling them. In a word, the best prince is often sold by these men, though he be ever so vigilant, and in despite of his suspicion of them."

The greatest misfortune which happened to Darius during the whole course of his reign was the revolt of the Egyptians, the particulars of which are related in that history, (page 165.) After this, the Medes rebelled, but were defeated, and reduced to their ancient allegiance. To punish them for their revolt, their yoke, which hitherto had been light, was made burdensome: a fate rebellious subjects generally experience when they are subdued.

About B. C. 407, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngest of his sons, the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor: an important commission, by which he made all the provincial governors of that part of the empire dependent upon him.

The hatred which Darius possessed against the Athenians, led him to deviate from his father's policy respecting the Grecian states. Artaxerxes assisted the weaker against the stronger, and so balanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, and thereby were prevented from uniting against the Persians. On the contrary, Darius commissioned Cyrus to assist the Lacedæmonians with large subsidies against the Athenians, which enabled Lysander, their general, to finish the Peloponnesian war with the overthrow of the Athenians, and demolition of their fortifications, about B. C. 404.

Shortly after the appointment of Cyrus to the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, he put to death two of the nephews of Darius, because they had not folded their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the Persians in presence of their kings. Darius was incensed against him, both for the heinous deed, as well as for challenging honours due only to himself in the empire, and designed to deprive him of his government. He was recalled for his purpose, but Parysatis his mother, who tenderly loved him, reconciled Darius to him, and used all her influence to have him declared heir to the crown, for the same reason which had exalted Xerxes to the throne; namely, that he was born after his father's accession. Darius resisted this request, but bequeathed to him the government of his provinces in Asia Minor, confirming his own crown to Arsaces, his eldest son, by the same mother. This struggle for supremacy gave rise to the most fearful display of human depravity between the two brothers, as will be seen in the succeeding article.

In the same year that the Lacedæmonians, by the aid of Cyrus, triumphed over the Athenians, Darius Nothus died.

and was succeeded by Arsaces, to whom Athenæus says he gave the best instruction in the art of reigning; namely, "to do justly in all things, toward God, and toward man."

The reign of Darius is memorable in history by the reference thereto in sacred prophecy. He was the first of the four kings foretold to precede the dissolution of the Persian empire: the prophecy of the seventy weeks, pointing out the time of the coming of the Messiah, also commenced in the fourth year of his reign, or B. C. 420. See Dan. ix. and xi.

On his accession to the throne, Arsaces assumed the title of

ARTAXERXES;

and he was distinguished by the Greek writers from others of that name by the epithet *Mnemon*, or "memory," he being remarkable for that "intellectual power," which is one of the choicest faculties bestowed upon man.

It has been recorded in the life of Darius Nothus, that Parysatis, his queen, had sought the kingdom for Cyrus, because, like Xerxes, he had been born after his father's succession to the throne, and that she had been disappointed in her views. The monarch, influenced either by the dictates of affection, or a sense of justice, disregarded her importunities, and gave the crown to Arsaces, bequeathing the provinces to Cyrus.

This action of Parysatis, and perhaps her private conduct, kindled the flames of ambition in the breast of Cyrus; and when ambition has once engrossed the heart, there is no crime, however foul in its nature, which man is not ready to perpetrate to advance himself towards the summit of his desires, however unhallowed they may be. Thus it was with Cyrus. Despairing of otherwise ascending the throne of Persia, which his too fond mother had taught him to consider as his legitimate right, he resolved upon the death of his brother; and, regardless of the near ties which united them, he decided upon inflicting that death with his own hand.

If any circumstances could deepen the guilt of this atrocious project, it was the time at which, and the place where. the dark deed was intended to be performed. It was on the day of his brother's rejoicings, when he was about to strip himself of his own robe, and put on that of the ancient Cyrus —the robe worn by the latter ere he came to the throne! It was on the day of that brother's coronation—in the sight of the court of Persia, and in the very temple of the gods!

But the design of Cyrus was frustrated. He had entrusted the fatal secret to one only, the priest who educated him, and by him it was revealed to the king, who condemned Cyrus to die the death of a traitor. But the intercession of his mother prevailed with Artaxerxes; he pardoned him, and even dismissed him again to his government.

Artaxerxes had scarcely ascended the throne of Persia when he was engaged, through the influence of his wife Statira, in a most tragical scene; than which history presents nothing more terrible. Adultery, incest, and murder marked every step of it; and it brought the queen-mother, Parysatis, and the reigning queen, Statira, into such a fiery collision, that the flames of revenge could only be quenched by the death of one or the other of the unlovely princesses.

The generous forgiveness which Artaxerxes had extended to his brother Cyrus ought for ever to have bound the latter in the bonds of love and fealty to the former. But the nature of Cyrus was not thus affected: "he had injured and could not forgive:" his ambition remained as mounting as before it had received a check; and superadded to this active principle, was one of equal fire and buoyancy—that of resentment for the disgrace he had suffered. A fierce desire of revenge burned within him, and he resolved upon the dethronement of his brother. With this view he employed Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian general, to raise a body of Grecian troops, under the pretence, among others, of a war meditated against Thrace; and, doubtless to forward the same object, he presented to Lysander a galley of two cubits in length, as a congratulatory compliment upon a naval victory. This gift was subsequently consecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphi; and afterwards we find Lysander at Sardis, charged with rich presents from the allies to Cyrus.

It was upon occasion of this visit that Cyrus had the celebrated conversation with Lysander, related page 89.

The seeming virtue which Cyrus displayed in this conversation, was only the instrument for forwarding evil designs. This, and all other pretences of a similar kind, he made use of to attract the notice and win the esteem of the powerful, who were unwary, or degenerate enough, to abet his unnatural rebellion. By arts of a like description he won the affections of the barbarians under his government; and with the aid of Clearchus and others, he raised secretly, in several places, and under various pretexts, a body of Grecian troops, on whom he placed his chief reliance. Nor was this all. In-

fluenced by his intrigues, several provinces of the government of Tissaphernes revolted, and placed themselves under his jurisdiction; and this incident giving rise to a war between him and Tissaphernes, was used as a cloak to cover his designs upon the life of his brother, and the crown of Persia. Under the pretence of warring with Tissaphernes, he now assembled troops from various quarters; and more speciously to amuse the court, he forwarded complaints against Tissaphernes to the king, and submissively implored his protection.

Artaxerxes, deceived by these appearances, reposing in imprudent and indolent security, believed that the preparations made by Cyrus were directed against Tissaphernes alone. Taking advantage of this supineness, Cyrus redoubled his efforts; and, by means of emissaries, endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for the approaching change. These emissaries inflamed discontent where they discovered it, and sought to create it where it was not. They laboured industriously in their fiend-like avocation, exalting the feigned merits of Cyrus, and depreciating the qualities of Artaxerxes, whom they represented as a moth of peace, saying that the state required such a ruler as Cyrus, one who loved war, and showered favours on those who served him, a valiant king, fired with the noble ambition of upholding and extending the glories of the state.

At the same time, Cyrus was endeavouring to crown the whole of his designs by obtaining succours from the Lacedæmonians, whom he had assisted to become masters of Greece. In a letter he wrote them, he spoke of himself in magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother; that he was better versed in the philosophy and knowledge of the magi, by which was meant the science of religion and government; and that he could take more wine without being intoxicated—a very meritorious quality amongst the barbarians, but not so proper to recommend him to the good opinion of those he addressed. Nevertheless, the Lacedæmonians sent orders to their fleet to join that of Cyrus immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos, his admiral, in every particular; but without the least mention of Artaxerxes, or intimation of the evil designs of Cyrus.

At length troops to the amount of 130,000 men were collected, and placed under the command of experienced leaders. Clearchus commanded the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœo-

tians were under Proxenus the Theban, and the Thessalians were headed by Menon. The barbarians had Persian generals, the chief of whom was Ariæus. The first consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras, and twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet.

With this formidable host, Cyrus set forward, still keeping his unholy purpose a profound secret from all, save Clearchus the Greek. To this policy he was instigated by the fear that so bold an enterprise might dismay his soldiers, no less than by the necessity of concealing his intention from the Persian court.

Nevertheless, the wily stratagist was baffled, and his object was made known. He had given out that he was leading this force against the Pisidians, who had infested his province with their incursions; but Tissaphernes saw through a pretext so shallow, and assured that preparations could never be made on so mighty a scale for so slight a purpose, he sent information of the proceedings to the king, accompanied with an intimation of what he believed to be the real designs of Cyrus.

The intelligence roused Artaxerxes from his lethargy, and threw the whole court into alarm. Recollections of her former criminality now drew all eyes upon the mother of these belligerent brothers, and all employed in her service were suspected of being in league with Cyrus. The two queens, the mother and the wife of Artaxerxes, evinced on this occasion the most deadly hatred for each other. "Where," cried the latter, "where is now the faith which you have so often pledged for the conduct of your son? This is our reward for listening to those ardent prayers that preserved from death a traitor against the king his brother! It is your unhappy fondness that has kindled the flame of war, and plunged us into an abyss of evil."

Summoning a numerous force in haste, Artaxerxes marched in all the pomp and pride of war to meet his brother.

The expedition of Cyrus is amongst the most remarkable recorded in ancient history and classical geography. It is interesting, not only from the importance of the prize at stake —the diadem of Asia, but also from the circumstance of its combining together a military history and a journal of travels.

The first part of the march of Cyrus was from Ephesus to Sardis, about fifty-eight miles in a direct distance. He then

crossed Mount Messogis, and the river Mæander, south-east of Sardis; and then turning north-east, came in four days' marches to Colosse, to the inhabitants of which St. Paul addressed an epistle upwards of four centuries afterwards, about eighty-five miles more. From Colosse the army of Cyrus came in three marches to Celænæ, about sixty miles north-east. From thence in two marches they came to Peltæ, which Rennel recognises in the Peloti of Edrisi, situate on the road from Tarsus to Abydos, a distance of twenty-eight miles north, where the Greeks were allowed to celebrate the Arcadian festival called Lycæa.* In two marches more, north, they came to the Forum of the Kramians, the ancient Cotyæum of the Roman times, and the modern Kutahiah. This city stands on the road leading from Broussa to Cilicia, Syria, and Cyprus through Iconium, so that Cyrus would have to pass for upwards of two hundred miles through deep and extensive valleys, lying at the northern foot of the Pisidian and Cilician Taurus. The first city his army came to was Caystrus, about eighty-five miles south-east from the Forum of the Kramians, and which answers to the modern Sakli, called Ketchluk by Kinnier. From Caystrus, or Sakli in two marches they came to Thymbrium, Rennel's modern Karatepe, and Kinnier's Akshehr, or the White City, a distance of twenty-eight miles. In the same distance they came to Tyriæum, considered by Kinnier to be the modern Eilgoun, but which Rennel thinks lies twelve geographical miles farther east. In three marches more, or fifty-six miles, they came to Iconium, the ancient capital of the Aladinian sultans, and standing in the ancient Lycaonia† mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xiv. 6, 11.) From this city the march continued five days almost due east through Lycaonia, and terminated a little to the south of Erekli, anciently Heraclea, a few miles from the northern foot of Mount Taurus. The distance traversed in this five days' march was eighty-five

* An Arcadian festival resembling the Roman Lupercalia. It was celebrated with games, in which the conqueror was generally rewarded with a suit of brazen armour. A human sacrifice was anciently offered at this festival. It was first observed by Lycaon, in honour of Jupiter, surnamed Lycæus, either from Lycaon's own name, or the Arcadian mountain Lycæus, which the Arcadians pretended was the true Olympus, whence they called it "the sacred hill," because Jupiter was feigned to have received his education there.

† Lycaonia formed part of the satrapy of Cappadocia, and was a steppe impregnated with salt, and containing a salt lake named Talta. The sole occupation of its inhabitants appears to have been that of pastors or shepherds.

miles. At the end of it, Cyrus made a division of his army. With one division he marched himself to the valley of Tyana, seventy miles distant; whilst Menon, with the other, took the route of Erekli, south-east, and ascended the north-west face of Taurus. This part of Taurus is called by the Turks Ramadan Oglu Balakklar, and is so broad that it requires twenty-five hours to cross it, and there are several difficult passes in the way. That by which Cyrus himself entered Cilicia is denominated the Northern Pass, and is on the direct road, from Cesarea Mazaca, in Cappadocia, to Tarsus. Rennel says that when Cyrus arrived at Tyana,* he found the pass occupied by Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and that therefore he encamped in the plain before it, which was since denominated from him, "The plain of Cyrus." According to Xenophon, the army of Cyrus reached Tarsus† in four marches, the probable distance of which is sixty miles. At Tarsus, Cyrus halted for twenty days, after which he marched to the Sarus, or modern Seihoon, twenty-eight miles in two days. Another day's march, eastward, fourteen miles, brought his army to the Pyramus or Jeihoon; and two more, forty-two miles, to Issus, where the battle was afterwards fought between Alexander and Darius. From Issus, in another day's march of fifteen miles, they came to the Syrian Strait, or gates of Cilicia and Syria; and in another of the same distance they reached Myriandrus, which was a large maritime city, no traces of which now remain. From this place Cyrus made twelve marches to Thapsacus, now Ul Der.

While at Thapsacus, Cyrus declared to his generals the real object of the expedition, and desired them to communicate it to the soldiers, and to endeavour to gain their willing service. These tidings were ill-received at first; but induced by the promise of a considerable gratuity, as well as encouraged by an artifice of Menon's, they passed from thence

* This city was at the foot of the Anti-Taurus, and it gave name to the district. It was the birth-place of a celebrated impostor called Apollonius, who lived A. D. 90, and whose life and feigned miracles are recorded by Philostratus.

† Tarsus, now Tersoos, or Tarasso, was the principal city of Cilicia, situated at the mouth of the river Cydnus. In the Greek annals it is celebrated for the learning and refinement of its inhabitants. In Scripture it excites an interest as the birth-place of St. Paul, who calls it "no mean city," Acts xxi. 30. It was made a free colony by the Greeks, an honour which was conceded to it by the Romans also, whence St. Paul asserts his privilege as a free-born Roman, Acts xxii. 25.

over the Euphrates: thus devoting themselves to the service of Cyrus.

After having passed the Euphrates, in nineteen marches further, Cyrus reached the Araxes, the modern Khabour, about two hundred and eighty miles distant, which is about fifteen miles *per diem*. On crossing the Araxes, Cyrus entered the desert of Arabia, now called the Desert of Sinjar. This vast tract he crossed by forced marches to the Pylæ Babyloniæ, or "Pass out of the hills into the plains of Babylonia," which he reached in eighteen days. The first five of these marches were through a perfect flat, without trees, and often covered with absynthum. The other thirteen marches were through a rugged and hilly tract, on both sides of the river Euphrates, extending to one hundred miles in breadth. At the end of the fifth march they came to Corsote, a large uninhabited city, surrounded by the river Masca, the modern Saccoras, where they stayed three days, and made their provisions. From Corsote they came to Carmande, which Rennel supposes to be the modern Hit, about twenty geographical miles above the Pylæ. From the Pylæ, Cyrus marched thirty miles across the plains of Babylonia, and then, after reviewing his troops at midnight of the third day, he marched about ten miles further on the fourth day in order of battle. On the sixth day he arrived at a place called Cunaxa, from whence was discerned a thick dust like a white cloud, which was succeeded first by a darkness, which enveloped the entire plain, and then by the resplendant glitter of the armour, lances, and standards of an almost countless host. This was the army of Artaxerxes, his brother, for whose crown Cyrus had undergone so many hardships in his expedition.

The two armies were soon arrayed in order of battle. On his right hand Cyrus posted a thousand Paphlagonian horse, supported by the Euphrates, and the light armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenus, and the rest of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatic nations, was commanded by Ariæus, who had a thousand horse. Cyrus placed himself in the centre, where the chosen troops of the Persians and the barbarians were posted. He had round him six hundred horsemen, armed at all points, as were their horses with frontlets and breastplates.

The army of Artaxerxes was commanded by Tissaphernes on the left, which division consisted of cavalry, armed with

white cuirasses, and of light armed infantry. In the centre was the heavy-armed foot, a great part of whom were Egyptians,* and entirely covered with wooden bucklers. The rest of the light-armed infantry, and of the horse, formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up with as much depth as front, and in that order composed square battalions. The king had posted himself in the main body, with the flower of the whole army, and had 6000 horse for his guard, commanded by Artagerses. Though he was in the centre, he was beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus, so much did the front of his own exceed in extent that of the opposing force. A hundred and fifty chariots armed with sythes were placed in the front of the army, and they were so fixed as to mow down all before them.

The army of Artaxerxes, numerous as it was, moved on without noise or confusion. When they had nearly reached that of Cyrus, the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle: and drawing still nearer, they shouted after their usual wont, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horses, and then moving onwards in a body, they sprang upon the barbarians, who fled at the onset.

The savage spirit of war was now fully exerted, and Cyrus exultingly beheld the advantages which were occasionally presented to his forces: and these were so successfully improved by the Greeks, that he was boldly though prematurely proclaimed king by all around him.

The crown was not to adorn his brows. He had climbed the unstable ladder of ambition to be precipitated to destruction. Perceiving that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in the flank, he marched directly against him with his 600 horse. With his own hand he destroyed Artagerses, who commanded the king's guard of 6000 horse, putting the entire body to flight. Then, discovering his brother, his eyes sparkled with fury as he cried, "I see him!" and he spurred forward his horse, eager to commit the twofold crime of destroying his brother and his king.

The battle now became a single combat between Artaxerxes and Cyrus; and the brothers were seen transported with the deadliest rage, each endeavouring to plunge his sword into the other's heart, and thus rid himself of a rival—reminding the spectators of Eteocles and Polynices, of whom

* Zeune supposes that the Egyptians, here mentioned, were the descendants of those who are spoken of as having been received into the favour and confidence of the elder Cyrus.

the Greek poets say, that their ashes separated on the burning pile, as if sensible of resentment, and hostile to reconciliation.

For a time, the advantage was with Cyrus, who succeeded in killing the horse of Artaxerxes, which fell with him to the ground. The king recovered himself, and mounted another, when Cyrus again rushed upon him, inflicted a second wound, and had uplifted his arm for the infliction of a third, when Artaxerxes, like a lion wounded by the hunters, only the more furious from the smart, sprang forward, impetuously pushing his horse against his opponent, who, running headlong, and without regard to his person, threw himself into the midst of a flight of darts aimed at him on all sides, and at that instant receiving a wound from his brother's javelin, Cyrus fell dead: his chief lords were slain likewise, resolving not to survive him.

Behold, reader, the fitting reward of indomitable courage, energy, and ability, admirable qualities when directed to the accomplishment of proper ends, but only casting additional blackness on the crime when employed in the furtherance of unworthy ones! Behold, too, in the daring efforts and final overthrow of an ambitious spirit, whose aims were narrowed to the attainment of mere worldly power and grandeur, a lesson for thine own! Happy he, the humble wayfarer, who, during his sojourn on earth, prepares for an inheritance that fades not, and looks forward to a crown that is eternal.

Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The Greeks had defeated the king's left wing, commanded by Tissaphernes; and the king's right wing, under his own command, had routed the enemy's left; and as neither knew what had occurred elsewhere, both parties imagined they had gained the victory. Tissaphernes, however, acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the Greeks, he immediately rallied his troops, in order to attack them. The Greeks, under the command of Clearchus, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills.

As it was almost night, the Greeks now laid down their arms to refresh themselves with rest. They were surprised that neither Cyrus nor any one from him appeared, and imagined that either he was engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some im-

portant place. They determined, therefore, to return to their camp, where they arrived about nightfall, and found the greatest part of their baggage taken, with all their provisions, which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without refreshment.

The next morning, the Greeks heard of the death of Cyrus, and the defeat of that part of the army. Upon this they sent deputies to Ariæus, offering him, as conquerors, the crown of Persia. Ariæs refused the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early next morning on his return to Ionia, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and, under the conduct of Clearchus, began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to Greece.

At this time, the Greeks were in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous and victorious army, and they had therefore no way to return into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through a vast tract of the enemy's country. Their valour and resolution, however, surmounted all these difficulties, and, despite of a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made good their retreat, travelling over the space of 2325 miles, through provinces belonging to the enemy, and reached in safety the Greek cities on the Euxine Sea. Clearchus had the conduct of the army at first; but he being slain by the treachery of Tissaphernes, the military historian Xenophon was appointed in his stead, and it was chiefly owing to his valour and wisdom that his countrymen surmounted their dangers.

The retreat of the 10,000 is equally celebrated in history with the expedition of Cyrus, but that more properly belongs to the history of Greece.

The victory which Artaxerxes had gained over his brother Cyrus was followed by a succession of atrocious crimes in his court. Fearful as the deed of shedding the blood of a brother is, the monarch was ambitious that the action should be attributed to him alone. Mithridates, a young Persian nobleman, boasted that he gave the mortal wound, and he suffered the most cruel and revolting death for his boast. A Carian soldier also claimed the glory, and he was delivered to Parysatis, whose tender mercies were at all times cruel, and who inflicted on him the most exquisite torments for ten days, and then put him to a cruel death. Masabates, by whom, at the king's order, the head of the fallen Cyrus was decapitated, suffered death for the deed also, by the command

of queen Parysatis. Nor did she stop here. Having, as before stated, conceived an implacable hatred against Statira, she was poisoned by her command in a most refined manner. Artaxerxes, being afflicted for the loss of his beloved Statira, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be put to the rack, when Gygis, one of her accomplices, discovered the whole. Artaxerxes put the informant to death, and confined his mother to Babylon; but at length, time having alleviated his griefs, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore much sway at court till her death.

After the death of Cyrus, Tissaphernes being sent back to his former government, and invested with the same power as the fallen prince, began to harass and oppress the Greek cities within the limits of his authority. These cities sought the aid of the Lacedæmonians, who sent Thimbro, B. C. 399, with an army against them, which being strengthened by the forces brought back from Persia, they took the field against Tissaphernes. Thimbro was, however, recalled upon some complaints, and sent into banishment, and the next year Dercyllidas was appointed his successor.

Dercyllidas was a brave general, and a famous engineer, and his movements were attended with some success. Having heard that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were at variance, he made a truce with the former, and entered the province of the latter, advancing as far as Æolis. Pharnabazus was driven from city to city, and at length, fearing that the conqueror would invade Phrygia, the chief province of his government, he made a truce with him, leaving him in possession of the cities he had captured.

The conqueror now turned his arms against Tissaphernes in Caria, where he usually resided. Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus united against him, and surprised him in a disadvantageous post. Pharnabazus advised an attack upon the Greeks, but Tissaphernes, who had experienced their valour at Cunaxa, sent heralds to Dercyllidas to invite him to a parley, and a truce ensued till the answers of their respective masters should be known.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, receiving accounts from Asia, that Artaxerxes was equipping a powerful fleet under Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, and supposing rightly, that it was designed against them, resolved to send Agesilaus, one of their kings, into Asia to make a diversion.

Accordingly, Agesilaus set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at Ephesus before his expedition was heard of at the court of Persia. Agesilaus swept all before him, whereupon Tissaphernes sent a messenger to inquire to what end he was come into Asia, and why he had taken up arms. Agesilaus replied, that he was come to assist the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to restore them to their ancient liberty.

Tissaphernes, unprepared for war, now had recourse to stratagem. He assured Agesilaus, that Artaxerxes would grant him his demands, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of his couriers. Agesilaus believed him, and a truce was agreed upon; but Tissaphernes made no other use of it than to assemble troops on all sides, and to obtain aid from Artaxerxes.

As soon as Tissaphernes had received the aid he sought, he commanded Agesilaus to depart from Asia, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. The Lacedæmonians and their confederates were alarmed: but Agesilaus heard the heralds of Tissaphernes with composure, and desired them to tell the wily satrap that he was under great obligations to him for having made the gods, by his perjury, enemies to Persia and friends to Greece. Having thus dismissed the heralds, he made a show of invading Caria; but finding that Tissaphernes had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned towards Phrygia, the greater part of which he overran: after which, loaded with the spoils of that province, he marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, and wintered at Ephesus.

The next spring, Agesilaus took the field, giving out that he would march into Lydia. Tissaphernes believed that he would march directly for Caria, and marched his troops thither for its protection. But he was deceived. Agesilaus entered Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tissaphernes hastened to its relief; but his horse having arrived before the infantry, Agesilaus attacked and defeated them with great slaughter, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered Persians.

In the greatest prosperity we should be mindful of a change. Hitherto, Tissaphernes had revelled in the smiles of Artaxerxes. The loss of this battle forfeited the monarch's favour. At the same time, Conon, arriving at the Persian court, made the breach wider by a complaint he brought against him of depriving the soldiers on board Conon's fleet of their pay

thereby disabling him from rendering the king any service. The charges were aggravated by queen Parysatis, who was actuated by an irreconcilable hatred against all who had a share in the defeat and death of Cyrus. Artaxerxes resolved upon the destruction of Tissaphernes; but, being afraid to attack him openly, on account of the great authority he had in Asia, recourse was had to treachery for the accomplishment of his designs. He charged Tithraustes, captain of the guards, with this commission. He gave him two letters, the one directed to Tissaphernes, empowering him to pursue the war against the Greeks at his own discretion; the other was addressed to Ariæus, governor of Larissa, commanding him to assist Tithraustes with his counsel and forces in seizing Tissaphernes. The will of the kings of Persia was law; and had this not been the case, it is to be feared that his wishes would have been too readily complied with, base though they may have been, in order to obtain his favour. In every country, and in all ages of the world, those have been met with who would readily imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow man in order to gain the favour of their superior, utterly setting aside the rights of humanity, and disregarding the laws of Heaven. Such an one was Ariæus. Upon the receipt of this letter, he desired Tissaphernes to come to him, that they might confer about the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes went with a guard of 300 men; but while he was bathing, according to the Persian custom, he was seized and disarmed, and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent into Persia. It was given, says Xenophon, by the king to Parysatis, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper. Well has it been said of revenge, that it sits like poison upon the stomach: it swells and convulses nature, and there is no good health to be expected till it is conquered and expelled.

This dark deed of Artaxerxes seems to have been considered by ancient writers as a retributive act of justice; and it is certain that Tissaphernes looked upon probity and honour as empty names; that he made a jest of the most sacred oaths; and believed the whole ability and policy of a statesman consisted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocrisy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury. The fact is, in these dark ages of the world, there was no bond of union betwixt man and man. All had strayed into the paths of error, and none of the rulers of the earth sought after that light from heaven which could

alone guide them into the paths of truth. It remained for revealed religion in the gospel of the Redeemer mildly beaming on the heart of man, to teach the world true honour, humanity, and justice.

As a reward for the execution of the command of Artaxerxes, Tithraustes was appointed to succeed Tissaphernes. His first act was, to send presents to Agesilaus, telling him that the cause of the war being removed, nothing could prevent an accommodation; and that Artaxerxes would allow the Greek cities in Asia to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the Lecedæmonians required when they first commenced the war. Agesilaus replied, that he could do nothing without orders from Sparta. As he was willing, however, to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of freedom from danger, he removed out of his province, and marched into Phrygia, Tithraustes defraying the charges of his march. On his way thither, Agesilaus received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, giving him the command of the fleet, as well as of the land forces; by which new commission he became sole commander of all the troops in Asia. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in order, and appointed Pisander admiral, ordering him forthwith to stand out to sea.

Having settled the maritime affairs, Agesilaus renewed his design of invading Phrygia. He spoiled the country, and from thence marched by the invitation of Spithridates, a noble Persian, into Paphlagonia. He concluded a league with Cotys, king of that country, and returning into Phrygia, took the strong city of Dascylium, and wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus, obliging the surrounding countries to supply his army with provisions.

Tithraustes, finding that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, to rekindle a war against the Lacedæmonians. Gold, which is at all times a powerful incentive to good or evil, had in this case the desired effect. The cities of Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and others, entered into a confederacy, and war raged again among these unhappy states, B. C. 395.

In the beginning of the next spring, Agesilaus, who had already made the provinces of Upper Asia tremble at his name, formed the design of attacking the king of Persia in the heart of his dominion. As he was upon the point of putting his designs into execution, the Spartan Episydidas ar-

rived to let him know that Sparta was threatened with a furious war, and that the Ephori recalled him for the defence of his country. Agesilaus obeyed the summons, thereby demonstrating the truth of what was said, "That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws." On his departure, he said, "That 30,000 of the king's archers drove him out of Asia, alluding to a species of Persian coin, the Daric, which had on one side the figure of an archer, and which had been dispersed to that number in Greece, to corrupt the leading men in the other states. It was by these acts of deceitful and deceiving policy that the Greeks were led onward to ruin. The poet has well said:

"Unless corruption first deject the pride
And guardian vigour of the free-born soul,
All crude attempts of violence are vain:
For firm within, and while at heart untouch'd,
Ne'er yet by force was freedom overcome.
But soon as independence stoops the head,
To vice enslaved, and vice-creating wants,
Then to some foul corrupting band, whose waste
These heightened wants with fatal bounty feeds,
From man to man the slackening ruin runs
Till the whole state, unnerved, in slavery sinks."—THOMSON.

On his return from the Persian court, Conon, having brought money to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and to supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took Pharnabazus on board, and sailed in quest of the enemy. The Persian fleet consisted of nearly 100 vessels; that of the Lacedæmonians was not so numerous. They met with each other near Cnidas, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had in some measure occasioned the capture of Athens, by losing the sea-fight at Ægospotamos, or "The Goat's River," determined to make an effort to regain his lost honours. On the other hand, Pisander was desirous of justifying by his conduct and valour the choice which Agesilaus, his brother-in-law, had made in appointing him admiral. The struggle was a severe one; but Conon having boarded Pisander's own vessel, slew him, when the rest of the fleet sought refuge in flight. Conon pursued them, and took fifty of their ships, which destroyed the power of the Lacedæmonians by sea.

After this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed round the islands and coasts of Asia, and reduced most of the cities which, in those parts, were subject to the Lacedæmonians. The consequence of the victory was, the revolt of almost all

the allies of Sparta, several of whom declared for the Athenians, and the rest resumed their ancient liberty.

The Lacedæmonians saw with concern this great revolution; and finding themselves unable to maintain a war with men of equal bravery with themselves, they despatched Antalcidas, one of their citizens, to Tiribazus, governor of Sardis, entreating him to conclude a peace with Artaxerxes upon the best terms he could. The other cities of Greece in alliance with the Athenians sent at the same time their deputies, with Conon at their head. The terms which Antalcidas proposed were, that the king should possess all the Greek cities in Asia; but that the islands and other cities in Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. The Athenian deputies were unanimous in rejecting these proposals. Setting aside the interests of the Greeks in Asia, they saw themselves exposed by this treaty: the Athenians to the loss of the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans to the cities of Bœotia; and the Argives to Corinth, with the loss of Argos in prospect. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding anything.

Tiribazus, however, was resolved to carry into effect so desirable a treaty. The first thing he resolved upon was, the ruin of Conon, who was the great barrier in the way of its accomplishment. In this he was aided by the Lacedæmonians. Revenge for this brave man's success in the restoration of Athens dictated to them a line of policy which reflects the greatest disgrace upon the Spartan character of this period. Antalcidas was charged by them to accuse Conon of purloining the king's money for the re-establishment of the Athenian state, in which accusation there was not the shadow of truth. But Tiribazus grasped at it, and imprisoned Conon, by which act he was assured that there would be no further opposition on his part. This done, Tiribazus next secretly aided the Lacedæmonians with large sums of mony for the purpose of fitting out a fleet, that they might be able to oppose the other states of Greece. After this, he went to the court of Persia, to give Artaxerxes an account of the negociation. Artaxerxes was pleased with the terms, and urged their adoption. At the same time, Tiribazus laid before the king the accusations which the Lacedæmonians had brought against Conon; and some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have affirmed, that he was executed at Susa by the order of Artaxerxes. Notwithstanding the silence of Xenophon on this subject, the statement may be correct; for it has ever been the

policy of despotic rulers to put to death all those who were able to oppose their wishes and designs.

Upon the return of Tiribazus, B. C. 387, he summoned the deputies of the Grecian states to be present at the reading of the treaty, which read thus: "1. That all the Grecian cities in Asia Minor, with the important isles of Cyprus and Clazomenæ, should be subject to Persia: and, 2. That all the cities of Greece, both small and great, should be free, and governed by their own laws." Artaxerxes engaged to assist by sea and land, with ships and money, the states which agreed to this treaty, against the refractory, by which clause the treaty was enforced upon all.

Such was the fruit of the jealousy and divisions which armed the Grecian cities against each other. By this treaty, the articles of the former Athenian peace of B. C. 449 were rescinded, and the paramount influence of Persia in Greece established. By it, all the various states were rendered independent of each other, and those powerful confederacies which had so long harassed and endangered the Persian empire, demolished; while the last clause of enforcing the peace "with ships and money," proved a fresh source of discord, and enabled Sparta to tyrannize afresh over the states that refused obedience to her authority, and involved her in a ruinous war with the Thebans under Epaminondas. Thus when Sparta shook the astonished Artaxerxes on his throne, from her division with the other states, in the language of the poet, she gave up.

——— fair-spread o'er Asia's sunny shore,
Their kindred cities to perpetual chains.
What could so base, so infamous a thought
In Spartan hearts inspire? Jealous, they saw
Respiring Athens rear again her walls:
And the pale fury fired them, once again
To crush this rival city to the dust.
For now no more the noble social soul
Of Liberty my families combined;
But by short views, and selfish passions, broke,
Dire as when friends are rankled into foes,
They mixed severe, and waged eternal war:
Nor felt they, furious, their exhausted force:
Nor with false glory, discord, madness blind,
Saw how the blackening storm from Thracia came.
Long years rolled on, by many a battle stain'd
The blush and boast of fame! where courage, art,
And military glory shone supreme:
But let detesting ages from the scene
Of Greece self-mangled, turn the sickening eye."—THOMSON.

Artaxerxes being now delivered from all fear of his long dreaded opponent, Greece, turned his whole power against Evagoras, king of Cyprus, who had refused to agree to the peace, and he reduced the whole island, B. C. 385.

During the next year, Artaxerxes engaged in another war against the Cardusians, who probably had revolted from him. This people inhabited the mountains between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, in the north of Media, and being inured from their infancy to a laborious life, were accounted a warlike people. Artaxerxes marched against them with an army of 300,000 foot, and 20,000 horse: but the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to the extremity of feeding upon their beasts of burden. Their provisions became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for sixty drachmas, about thirty-five pounds sterling. The king's provisions began to fail, and only a few horses remained. In this critical juncture, Tiribazus contrived a stratagem which saved the army from destruction. The Cardusians had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. Tiribazus found that there was a division between them, and that jealousy prevented their acting in concert. Acting upon this, he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them, which being adopted, both princes were brought separately to submit to Artaxerxes, and thus saved his army from impending ruin.

At this time, Tiribazus stood accused by a jealous rival, Orontes, of forming designs against Artaxerxes, and of secretly corresponding with the Lacedæmonians. On the king's return to Susa, the service which Tiribazus had rendered him, inclined him to have his cause examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. Three commissioners of distinguished probity were appointed for the purpose, and the result was, that he was restored to the king's favour, and Orontes banished the court in disgrace.

"From thirst of rule, what dire disasters flow!
How flames that guilt which pride has taught to glow!
Wish gains on wish, desire surmounts desire,
Hope fans the blaze, and envy feeds the fire.
From crime to crime aspires the furious soul,
Nor laws, nor oaths, nor fears, its rage control.
Till Heaven, at length, awakes, supremely just,
And levels all its haughty schemes in dust."—SMOLLET.

Artaxerxes had long meditated the invasion of Egypt; but the forgoing events had prevented him from carrying this de-

sign into operation. At length, in the first year of the reign of Nectanebis, B. C. 374, a powerful army of Persians was sent thither, under the command of Pharnabazus, which was augmented by Grecian mercenaries under Iphicrates. The war was to begin with the siege of Pelusium, but Nectanebis having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, the approach to it was found to be impracticable, either by sea or land. The fleet, therefore, instead of making a descent there, sailed to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, which not being so well fortified as the Pelusian, where the enemy was expected, they carried the fortress that guarded it, and put all the Egyptians that were found in it to the sword. After this action, Iphicrates advised the embarkation of the troops, and the attack of Memphis; but the main body of the army not being yet arrived, Pharnabazus would not undertake any affair of moment. This probably saved Egypt, for the delay gave the Egyptians time to recover their courage, and to prepare for the conflict. The expedition was virtually at an end; and the only effect that it produced was, a mutual enmity between the two generals: for Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the failure upon Iphicrates, and he, with more reason, on Pharnabazus. Pharnabazus, however, was the strongest at court, of which Iphicrates was well assured, and, knowing the Persian character, he privately hired a ship, and returned to Athens.

Twelve years after, Artaxerxes resumed his designs of subjecting Egypt to his rule. Tachus, who had succeeded Nectanebis, drew together his forces to repel the invader; but having marched out of Egypt into Phenicia, in order to attack the Persians there, the Egyptians revolted in his absence, and placed his cousin Nectanebus on the throne. (See the History of the Egyptians.)

The close of the reign of Artaxerxes was embittered by domestic broils. The monarch had three legitimate sons, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus, and 115 that were spurious. To prevent contentions about the crown, and to check the ambition of Ochus, who had shown a towering disposition, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor, and allowed him to wear the royal tiara. But Tiribazus, whom Artaxerxes had provoked by successively promising him two of his daughters in marriage, and afterwards disappointing him by marrying them himself, drew Darius and fifty of his brothers into a conspiracy against the life of their father. The day was fixed for the execution of their designs, when an eunuch, who was

privy to the plot, discovered it to the king, and the conspirators were seized as they were entering the palace, and put to death.

A contest now arose between Ariaspes and Ochus, the legitimate sons, and Arsames, a favourite natural son of the king, about the succession. Ochus, however, contrived the death of both his brothers, and by these atrocious acts secured for himself the possession of the throne. He soon ascended it, for these domestic tragedies broke the old king's heart in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign.

Artaxerxes was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great wisdom, clemency, and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected throughout his empire. The following anecdotes, says Dr. Hales, as recorded by Plutarch, seem to mark his character, and to confirm the treason of Cyrus, his brother, before his open rebellion.

"At first," says Plutarch, "Artaxerxes Mnemon seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving affably to all who addressed him, and by distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care that punishments should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought to him by way of present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, 'By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made governor of a small city, would make it a great one.' When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing else to present to him, ran to the river, and brought him some water in his hands. Artaxerxes, pleased with the act, showed his humour by sending the man a gold cup and 1000 darics. When Euclidas, the Lacedæmonian, said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this reply, 'You may say what you please to the king; but the king would have you to know that he can not only say, but do.'" These anecdotes denote the merciful prince: nevertheless there were moments, as we have seen, when the king paid little respect to the rights of hu-

manity, when bent on revenge. Yet Artaxerxes may be said to have been one of the best of the monarchs of the ancient empire of Persia; and it is strange that his reign is omitted by Persian historians.

DARIUS OCHUS, OR DARAB I.

The death of Ariaspes and Arsames had alienated the minds of the nobles and people from Ochus: and fearing this public odium, he concealed the death of his father for ten months, and conducted the administration of affairs in his name, until he deemed his own authority sufficiently established. By one of his decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole of the empire, as though by his father's order. At length, however, he openly ascended the throne, taking the name of Artaxerxes. He is known in history chiefly by his proper name, Ochus.

No sooner was the death of Artaxerxes made known, than all Asia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, and many other provinces, revolted. By this general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were diverted into different channels, and the remainder would not have been sufficient to carry on the war against so many mal-contents, had they acted in concert. But this formidable revolt, which menaced the destruction of the Persian empire, came to nought, through the treachery and corruption of the leading partisans, especially of Orontes and Rheomitres, chiefs of Asia Minor, who delivered up their forces into the monarch's hands. Datames alone, governor of Cappadocia, gave him much trouble, and according to Cornelius Nepos, he was assassinated by Mithridates, one of his intimates, who had been suborned to the act by Ochus.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked monarch of this race of the princes of Persia. To prevent future disturbances at home and abroad, he cut off in one day all the royal family, without any regard to consanguinity, age, or sex. Ocha, his own sister and mother-in-law, (for he had married her daughter,) was buried alive; and he caused his archers to slay with their arrows one of his uncles, and 100 of his children and grand-children. This uncle appears to have been the father of Sisigambis, who was mother of Darius Codomannus; for Q. Curtius relates, that Ochus caused eighty of her brothers to be massacred in one day. All the nobility who were suspected of disaffection throughout the empire, shared the same

fate as the relatives of Ochus. The sorrows of mankind seem to have been his sport.

But the cruelties that Ochus practised had the reverse effect of that which he intended. If a monarch desires the fidelity of his subjects, he must gain it by a spirit of love; severity and, still more, cruelty only estrange their affections from the throne. In the fifth year of his reign, Artabazus, governor of one of the western provinces, revolted, and, by the assistance of Chares and an Athenian force, defeated 70,000 of the king's troops. Ochus threatened to make war on the Athenians, and they recalled Chares. Afterwards, however, Artabazus procured assistance from the Thebans, and defeated the armies of Ochus in two engagements; but the king having bribed the Thebans, Artabazus was again left single-handed, and after three years' resistance, he was forced to flee and take refuge with Philip of Macedon.

This rebellion was no sooner quelled, than the Sidonians, Phenicians, and Cyprians revolted, and joined the Egyptians, who still maintained their independence. At first, Ochus sent his generals against them; but these having failed to reduce them, Ochus himself took the command of the expedition. He besieged Sidon, which was betrayed to him by Mentor, the Rhodian, and Tennes, the king of that place. The Sidonians set fire to the city, and destroyed men, women, and children, with all their treasures. Ochus sold the ashes, which contained great quantities of melted gold and silver, for a high price, and rewarded Tennes, the traitor, with death. The fate of Sidon terrified the rest of the Phenicians into submission, among whom the Jews may be included, who seem to have joined the common cause.

After this, Ochus invaded Egypt, B. C. 350, in the ninth year of his reign, which he reduced chiefly by the assistance of Mentor, the Rhodian, and his Greek mercenaries. See the History of the Egyptians.

All the revolted princes being reduced, and peace established throughout the empire, Ochus gave himself up to ease and luxury, leaving the administration of public affairs to his ministers. The chief of these were Bagoas, the Egyptian eunuch, who was a great favorite, and Mentor, the Rhodian; the former of whom governed the provinces of Upper Asia, and the latter those of Lower Asia.

About B. C. 344, alarmed by the greatness of Philip, king of Macedon, Ochus sent some of his trustiest ministers on an embassy to Philip, under pretence of offering him his

friendship and alliance, but in reality to discover his strength, resources, and designs. The young Alexander, then about twelve years old, entertained the ambassadors in the absence of his father, and gained their affections by his politeness and good sense. Even at this early age, he exhibited signs of approaching greatness. The ambassadors were surprised at his questions, which related to their monarch and their kingdom, and the geography of their country. They counted the famed shrewdness of Philip as nothing compared with the vivacity and enterprizing genius of his son, and said to each other, "This boy, indeed, will be a great king; ours is a rich one;" an observation which remarkably accords with the Scripture characters of both kings, of the goat and the ram, Dan. viii. 5—7; xi. 2, 3.

It has been recorded in the history of the Egyptians in what a cruel manner Ochus acted towards that people; trampling alike upon their religion, laws, and liberties, and filling the whole country with dismay. In revenge for his country's wrongs, Bagoas, who had long waited for an opportunity to rid his country of its oppressor, at length, in B. C. 338, poisoned Ochus, and placed Arses, his youngest son upon the throne, allowing him the name of king, while he himself retained all the authority.

ARSES.

Arses did not long enjoy his shadow of power; for in his third year Bagoas, finding that his treasons were likely to be punished by the young monarch, anticipated his intention, and put him and his whole family to death, in the third year of his reign, B. C. 335.

DARIUS CODOMANNUS, OR DARAB II.

This prince was a collateral branch of this dynasty. His grandfather was brother to Darius Nothus, one of whose sons only, Ostanes, escaped the ruthless massacre of the family by Ochus. Ostanes married Sisigambis, his own sister, by whom he had Codomannus.

During the reign of Ochus, this prince lived in obscurity, and supported himself as an *astanda*, or courier, by carrying the royal despatches. At length, however, he signalized himself in killing a Cadusian champion, who had defied the Persian army to single combat in the same manner as Go-

liath defied the armies of Israel. For this exploit Darius Codomannus was rewarded by Ochus with the important government of Armenia, from whence he was advanced to the throne, upon the murder of Arses and his family by Bagoas.

On the accession of Darius Codomannus to the throne, he had no competitors; for the royal family and the principal nobility had been destroyed by Ochus and Bagoas. The latter, however, caused him some fear for his life. Finding that Codomannus was not to be entirely governed, Bagoas resolved to remove him as he had done his predecessor, by poison. The attempt was discovered, and Bagoas was compelled to drink the fatal potion himself. The empire was now, therefore, fully established, and Codomannus was "far richer" than "the last three kings" of Persia, because he was possessed of the vast additional treasures procured by the plunders of Ochus, after the reduction of Egypt and the other revolted provinces. His personal bravery gained him universal respect and admiration throughout the empire.

Darius ascended the throne shortly before the assassination of Philip of Macedon, which event took place near the end of the same year; and, as Alexander complained, by Persian instigation, and bribery of the assassins. This was alleged as one of his public grievances; and Bagoas, who then governed the Persian empire, would not have scrupled to remove a foe by such a mode, especially as Philip had been elected captain-general of the Grecian states, for the purpose of invading Persia. Codomannus himself set the price of 10,000 talents upon the head of Alexander, with which Alexander also openly reproached him by letter. The assassin employed was Alexander, son Æropus, commander of the Thessalian cavalry; but the plot was discovered by Parmenio.

In his letter, Alexander complained of the underhand aggressions of Darius, and charged him with sending "improper letters" through all parts of Greece to excite them to make war on him, and with sending money to the Lacedæmonians and others, to corrupt his friends and break the peace. This accords in a remarkable manner with Scripture, which represents Darius as the first aggressor in the war that ensued. "And now will I show thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, [Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Darius Ochus;*] and the fourth

* The short reign of Arses, which was merely nominal, is omitted both by Justin and Scripture. In chronology, it is sometimes added to that of Ochus, as in that of Dr. Hale's Analysis.

shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia," Dan. xi. 2.

Darius did not confine himself to such underhand measures: he raised a powerful army, collected a large fleet, and engaged able officers to command both, among whom may be mentioned Memnon the Rhodian.

Darius Codomannus, therefore, in the beginning of his reign, involved himself in a war with this mighty monarch, of whom the voice of prophecy had said, "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will," Dan. xi. 3; which received a remarkable accomplishment in the event we are about to narrate, and others that will be found in the history of the Macedonians.

It was early in the spring of the year B. C. 334, that Alexander set out on his expedition. His army consisted of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse. With these he arrived in twenty days at Sestos, on the Hellespont, over which he had them conveyed to Asia by a fleet of 160 galleys, besides transports. No army opposed his landing.

Before he set out, Alexander assembled his army at Dios, in Macedonia, where he exhibited games and sacrifices in all the pomp of Grecian superstition. It was on this occasion that he had a remarkable dream, or vision, in which, as he related himself, while he was considering how to subdue Asia, a person in the dress of the Jewish high priest appeared to him, and encouraged him not to delay, but to pass over with confidence; for that he himself would head his army, and give him the Persian empire.

This circumstance, which is related by Josephus, has been questioned, because it is not noticed by any heathen historians; but their silence is not sufficient to invalidate his positive testimony. As these questioners belong to the number of those who doubt the verity of the supernatural details of the sacred history itself, it is impossible not to see that the principle of their objection here is the same. There are five cogent reasons, however, which demand our belief of this statement. 1. Because Alexander had been a clear and conspicuous object of prophecy, and that an operation upon his mind by dream, or vision, was as likely as the cases of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and similar to them. 2. Because it seems to be as necessary that the Almighty should have been made known to him as the bestower of empires, as

to the other great conquerors, all of whom had been brought to avow it. 3. Because an operation upon the mind of Alexander, showing him in what position he stood, was a necessary sequel to the operations upon the minds of those former conquerors. 4. Because the impression described as being made by this dream upon Alexander, and the conduct which resulted from it, is in unison with his character and conduct as described by other historians. 5. Because the Jews enjoyed the privileges which are described as the result of this transaction, and which it would not otherwise be easy to account for, or to refer to any other origin.

The spirit in which Alexander invaded Asia may be learned from the following circumstances. Before he left home, he disposed of almost all the revenues of the crown among his friends, and he took with him only seventy talents, or a month's pay for his army. When Perdiccas asked him what he reserved for himself, he replied, "Hope." This it was that furnished him with energy to advise and execute; this it was that set both his head and heart to work, and animated him to do his utmost; this it was that overcame all difficulties, and aided him in the accomplishment of designs that seemed almost beyond his reach. To hope is the way to have, and the issue is often owing to belief and expectation. Transcendant above all other hopes, however, is the Christian's hope, of which the poet has said,

"Hope! let the wretch once conscious of the joy,
Whom now despairing agonies destroy,
Speak, for he can, and none so well as he,
What treasures centre, what delights in thee.
Had he the gems, the spices, and the land
That boasts the treasure all at his command,
The fragrant grove, the' inestimable mine,
Were light when weighed against one smile of thine."

COWPER.

As soon as Alexander landed in Asia, he went to Troy,* and sacrificed to Pallas, the patroness of the Greeks,

* Respecting the site of ancient Troy, modern geographers and classical antiquaries have been greatly at a loss. The plain of Troy has been repeatedly visited by classical travellers, in order to verify Homer's description of the tomb of Ilus, the green fig trees, the hot and cold springs, and the sources of the Scamander, Simois, and Thymbrius; but none of them have agreed in fixing the localities of the Iliad. In the days of Strabo, however, ancient Troy was considered to have stood within three miles of New Ilium, which, as Strabo informs us, was only a small village, distinguished by a temple dedicated to Minerva.

and offered libations at the tomb of the hero Achilles, whom he proposed for his model.

From Troy Alexander marched to Lampsacus,* which he had determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants. Anaximenes, a famous historian, who had been very intimate with Philip his father, and his (Alexander's) own tutor, was a native of this city. Anaximenes came to meet him, and Alexander, suspecting that he would plead for his city to be spared, in order that he might be beforehand with him, declared that he would not grant any request he might make. "The favour I have to desire of you," said Anaximenes, "is, that you would destroy Lampsacus," by which witty evasion the city was saved.

Alexander passed onward from Lampsacus, and came to the river Granicus,† in the lesser Phrygia. On the banks of this river he found the governors of the western provinces assembled, with an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, to oppose his passage; contrary to the advice of that experienced general, Memnon the Rhodian, whose opinion was, that they should not hazard a battle, but lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve the invaders, and oblige Alexander to return into Europe; as well as to make a powerful diversion, by carrying war into Macedonia and Greece. This plan was rejected with scorn, as "unworthy of the magnanimity of the Persians." Aristes, governor of Phrygia, moreover, protested that he would never suffer the Greeks to lay waste the country over which he presided.

The Persian cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the Granicus; and the foot, consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. Parmenio, commander of the Macedonian infantry, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised Alexander to encamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his

* Lampsacus is about thirty miles in direct distance from Ilium, and was once renowned for its safe and capacious harbour at the entrance of the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora, opposite Callipolis, and its noble temple dedicated to Cybele, the Phrygian goddess. It was also famous for its excellent wine, on which account it was given to Themistocles, the Athenian exile, by Artaxerxes Longimanus. By some travellers its ruins have been identified with those lately discovered at and around a village called Tchardack.

† The Granicus lay thirty-five miles from Lampsacus in direct distance. It is a narrow, deep, and rapid stream, originating in the northern slope of the range of Ida, and running a north-east course of forty geographical miles to the Propontis. Its western banks are said to be high, steep, and rugged. Its modern name is the Oostrola.

troops might have rest, and not attempt the passage till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks craggy and steep, his troops fatigued with their march, whilst those of the enemy had rested for several days. Alexander replied that it would be a disgrace to him and his army should they, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer their progress to be stopped by a rivulet.

The two armies continued some time looking at each other on the opposite banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians entered the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing, and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and observing the dispositions of their enemies. Alexander, at length, having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded his nobles to follow him. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of his forces. Parmenio advanced afterwards with the left wing; the trumpets throughout the whole host sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing the detachment advance into the river, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to prevent the Macedonians from landing. As they drew near the bank, a fierce engagement ensued; the Macedonians endeavouring to land, and the Persians pushing them again into the river. As Memnon commanded in this place, the first ranks of the Macedonians perished; and the rest, after having with great difficulty gained the shore, were driven anew into the river. Alexander, however, who had followed them closely, reinforced them with his best troops, and putting himself at their head, routed the Persians, upon which the whole army followed after and attacked the enemy on all sides. A sickening scene ensued. The Persian horse was first defeated with great slaughter, and the infantry shared the same fate. The Grecian infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to Alexander, demanding leave to retreat unmolested; but Alexander following the dictates of wrath rather than those of reason, rushed into the midst of this body of soldiers, and destroyed the whole, except 2000, who were taken prisoners.

In this engagement, the Persians lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse. On the side of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse perished at the first attack. Alexander ordered

Lysippus to make their statues in brass, which were set up in Dios, a city of Macedon, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. According to Arrian, about sixty of the other horse were killed, and nearly thirty foot, who the next day were laid with their arms and equipage in one common grave.* Their fathers and children had an exemption granted them from every kind of tribute and service.

The victory of the Granicus put Alexander in possession of Sardis,† the capital of Asia Minor, which was the bulwark of the Persian empire on the side next the sea. The citizens surrendered on his approach, upon which Alexander gave them their liberty, and permitted them to enjoy their own laws.

Four days after, Alexander arrived at Ephesus,‡ carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. Here he offered sacrifices to Diana, and assigned to the temple of that goddess all the tributes that were paid to the Persians. He was ambitious of having the name of the celebrated temple of Diana, which was then rebuilding, changed for his own, and he offered to defray the whole cost of the work on such conditions; but the Ephesians evaded the request, by telling him that it was inconsistent for one god to erect temples to another!

"The force of flattery could no further go."

Before Alexander left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Tralles and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

From Ephesus, Alexander marched to Miletus,§ which city, deceived by the hopes of a powerful support from the Persian fleet then lying off the coast, closed their gates against

* This account is taken from the Greeks, the only one we have of the battle of the Granicus. It seems incredible, that in the combat with the Greek mercenaries, who were men of equal courage with themselves, they should all have been killed on the spot, after a brave defence, without a proportionate carnage on the part of the Macedonians. False love of their country's glory, doubtless caused the Greek historians to depart from the truth in narrating this event.

† Sardis lay about 138 miles in direct distance, S. E. of the Granicus.

‡ Ephesus lay south-west of Sardis, about sixty-three Roman miles in direct distance.

§ Miletus lay twenty-eight miles south-east of Ephesus in direct distance, on the Latmian Gulf, which is supposed by some to be the Lake of Ufa Bashee.

him. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with many of his soldiers, and was determined to make a vigorous defence. After several days' fruitless efforts, however, Alexander compelled the besieged to capitulate. He treated the Milesians with great humanity, allowing them to live according to their own laws. Memnon was allowed to march out with his Greeks unmolested; but the Persians were put to the sword, or sold for slaves.

Having possessed himself of Miletus, Alexander marched into Caria, in order to besiege Halicarnassus, the capital* of that province, which defied his power. This city was of most difficult access; nature and art combined in its defence. Memnon, moreover, had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of troops, and seconded by another general of great prowess, Ephialtes, he resolved to withstand the Macedonian power to the utmost. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war, was practised on this occasion by the adverse parties. The Macedonians, with immense labour, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls; but their works were soon demolished, and their engines burned. Repeated attempts of this nature were made, and any other general but Alexander would have foregone the enterprise; but he encouraged his troops to persevere, and at length they succeeded. Memnon abandoned the city, and, going on board the Persian fleet, of which he was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the island of Cos, not far distant. Alexander, finding the city without riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground, the citadel only excepted.

To conciliate the Asiatic colonies from Greece, Alexander now declared them free, and exempt from tribute. This had the wished-for effect; all the Greek cities of Asia declared in his favour, which very much facilitated his progress.

The last action of this military campaign, according to Diodorus Siculus, was with the Marmarians,† an inconsider-

* This city lay forty miles south-east of Miletus in direct distance. It is now a heap of ruins. It was once famous for the stately mausoleum, or tomb, erected in honour of Mausolus, king of Caria, of which this city was the capital, by Artemisia, his widowed queen. Herodotus, the father of historians, was born here; so also was Dionysius, the Greek historian of Rome, and the poets Heraclitus and Callimachus.

† The appellation, Marmarians, still exists in Marmorice, the name of a bay on the south-east side of the Gulf of Macri, on the west side of Lycia; and the present inhabitants are described as being of the same predatory habits as their ancestors.

able people inhabiting the western border of Lycia. Their city was placed on a rock, and was accounted impregnable. These rude mountaineers fell on the rear of the Macedonian army, destroyed many men, and captured a great part of their baggage. This enraged Alexander, who immediately invested their stronghold, and attacked it by storm for two successive days. The old men among the besieged, seeing no prospect of a longer defence, would have advised surrender; but the young men scorned such advice. Their elders then advised them to put all their superannuated men, together with their women and children, to death, and then, if possible, to force their way through the Macedonians. This advice was acted upon. Every one going home, made a great feast, and after eating and drinking with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and set it on fire! While the fires were raging, to the number of six hundred, they forced their way through the Macedonian guards, and escaped to the mountains.

Alexander now put his army into winter quarters; but before he did this, in order to conciliate his soldiers, he dismissed such as had married that year, and sent them to their homes, with orders to return again next spring. This was a wise military regulation, and seems to have been derived from the law prescribed by Moses, Deut. xxiv. 5. Probably Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander, learned it from the Jews, of whom he makes honourable mention: the philosopher, indeed, speaks of a Jew, whom he met in Asia, as communicating more information to him in the Greek language than he received in return.

About the same time, Alexander adopted the bold expedient of dismissing his fleet, which was too small to cope with the Persian fleet, collected from Phenicia and Egypt, and yet too large for his treasury to maintain. In doing this he declared to his lieutenants, that by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy, and tend to disable them from invading Greece in his absence; and also contribute to hold open his communication with his own dominions, and introduce fresh supplies from thence, when he should find it expedient to advance into the heart of Asia.

Next spring, B. C. 333, Alexander recommenced the reduction of the maritime provinces. His progress at first met with some interruption. Near Phaselis, a small sea-port, on the

west side of the gulf of Attaliah, and on the eastern shore of the Lycian Peninsula, is a defile along the sea shore, which is always dry in the summer, but when the sea rises is impassable. As the winter was not yet past, his forces were obliged to march a whole day in the water, but they surmounted the difficulty, and passed onward. Some historians relate that the sea, by the Divine command, opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; but this is evidently a parody, suggested by flattery, on the astounding miracle of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

While Alexander was in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered the conspiracy to which allusion has before been made; [see page 232.] The traitor was discovered, and he suffered death for his perfidy.

From Phaselis, Alexander marched to Perga, in Pamphylia, on the river Cestrus; and from thence to Aspendus, on the river Eurymedon, east of Perga; which, though a well fortified place, surrendered without sustaining a siege. From hence Alexander marched north-west to the pass of Telmessus, a strong defile in the range of Taurus, and which, had the inhabitants of that place known how to avail themselves of the advantageous position of their city,* which commanded the pass on one side, as a high mountain did on the other, they might have defended it against all Alexander's attempts to penetrate through it into Phrygia, and compelled him to attempt a passage in some other quarter. Alexander knew this, and therefore he encamped at the foot of the pass, of which the Telmessians had possessed themselves, at the close of night, hoping that the fear of an attack would induce them to withdraw. To his great joy they did withdraw, and shut themselves up in their city, so that he passed through without any obstruction. He passed their city by as one of inferior consequence, his great object being now to gain possession of the interior of Asia Minor. From the defile of Telmessus, Alexander crossed the high upland of Milyas, which Bochart deduces from the Phenician word *mulia*, "an elevated mound," to Celænæ,† which surrendered after a truce

* This city must not be confounded with the Telmessus on the south-east angle of the Gulf of Macri, which was once a large and flourishing city, as the sarcophagi, and other remains found there, certify.

† Celænæ lay about seventy-five geographical miles north-west of the defile of Telmessus.

of sixty days, granted by him with a promise to that effect, if no succours should arrive in the interim.

From Celænæ Alexander marched over the lofty chain now called the Moorad Dagh, to Gordium,* the ancient and celebrated residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were adjusted in so intricate a manner, that it could not be discovered where they commenced, or where they ended. An oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it should possess the empire of Asia: and Curtius relates, that Alexander being fully persuaded that this promise related to himself, he, after many fruitless trials, exclaimed, "It is no matter which way it be untied," and thereupon cut it with his sword. Aristobulus, however, who was an eye-witness of the transaction, assures us, that Alexander wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the chariot, which being driven in across the beam held it up, and so took the yoke from it. In this version of the story Plutarch coincides.

In the mean time, Darius was preparing to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to retaliate, by carrying the war into Macedonia, stating that the Lacedæmonians and several other Greek nations, who were adverse to the Macedonians, would be ready to join him, and that Alexander would be compelled to return to defend his own country. Darius approved of the plan, and appointed Memnon admiral of the fleet, and captain general of all the forces designed for that expedition. Memnon was at the island of Cos when he received this commission, and this place was the rendezvous for the fleet. Memnon soon commenced operations. He made himself master of the island of Chios and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, but he died before Mitylene, which city he was compelled to besiege.

The death of Memnon was a severe loss to the Persian monarch. No one was able to supply his place, and the only enterprise which could have saved his empire was therefore abandoned. The sole resource of Darius now lay in the armies

* Gordium lay a little east of Celænæ. It is difficult to fix its site, but all agree that it stood on the Sangarius. It was founded by Gordius, but it did not long retain its honours; for in the time of Strabo, it had become a mere village.

of the east, and these he resolved to command in person. The rendezvous of his army was Babylon, where, upon mustering, they were found to be about 400,000, 500,000, or 600,000 men; for such are the different accounts of ancient authors.

One of the king's counsellors, Charidemus, a Greek refugee, had opposed the monarch's heading his own troops; saying, that he ought not to risk his life; and he pledged himself that, with the command of 100,000 men, of whom a third part should be Greek mercenaries, he would compel the conqueror to abandon his enterprise. Darius was disposed to accede; but his ministers, generally, rejected this course through envy, and insinuated that Charidemus meant to betray their cause to the Macedonians. Fired at this insult, he called them cowards in the king's presence, for which he was ordered to instant execution. As he went to his death, he exclaimed, that the king would shortly repent of his injustice, and be punished with the loss of his empire; which was verified by the event, and required no gift of prophecy to suppose, now that the Persians were left to themselves.

Before Darius departed to meet Alexander, according to ancient historians, he had an ominous dream. He thought he saw the Macedonian phalanx on fire; that Alexander waited on him, as a servant, and in his former courier dress; and that he then went into the temple of Belus, and disappeared. Plutarch says, that by this dream, Heaven seemed to signify that honour and prosperity would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius, who, from a simple courier, became king; but that he would soon die, and leave his glory behind him. This result accords with prophecy in a remarkable manner, (see Dan. viii. 5—8, xi. 3, 4;) and it is probable, as Dr. Hales suggests, that it might have been disclosed by the magi, who understood these prophecies, though they dared not unfold them to the king.

We return to Alexander. Big with the hope of conquest, he passed from Gordium east to Ancyra* a city of that part of Phrygia, afterwards called Galatia, from the Gauls, who

* Ancyra lay fifty-five geographical miles south-east of the assumed site of Gordium in Rennel's map, near the source of a river, which flows south-east to the Halys. It formed one of the three capitals of Galatia, the other two being Tavium and Pessinus. It is celebrated in profane history as being taken by the consul Cneius Manlius Vulso; as being raised to the rank of the metropolitan city of that province by Augustus; and as entertaining the apostate Julian, on his way to the Persian war. In sacred history, Ancyra is noted for having received the impress of the

seized upon it. From Ancyra, Alexander proceeded north to Paphlagonia, crossing the lofty ridge of Olympus, which separates Galatia from Bithynia and Paphlagonia, the terminus of which march was probably the city of Sora, eighty-three miles in direct distance from Ancyra. From thence he marched south-east by the Halys and Mount Taurus to Cilicia, crossing, in his way, the same pass by which the younger Cyrus had entered that country. He came to Tarsus,* which, from Sora, was a march of 430 miles direct.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river remarkable for its clear and limpid streams, but very cold, with a gentle winding current. Alexander having imprudently bathed in this river in the heat of the day, and when covered with sweat and dust, a serious illness was the consequence, which threatened his life. He was recovered from his sickness by the skill of his physician, Philip, an Acarnanian, and his own magnanimity in drinking the potion prescribed, after he had received a letter, intimating that he was bribed by Darius to poison him, while Philip was reading it without any emotion. He knew the attachment and fidelity which his physician bare to him, and doubt was removed. It was well said by Aristotle, that friendship is composed of a single soul inhabiting a pair of bodies. Where true friendship exists, pain and joy are mutual; and he that touches the heart of one friend, touches the heart of the other.

In the mean time, Darius had commenced his march at the head of his numerous army, and had advanced as far as the plains of Mesopotamia. Here the Greek mercenaries advised

feet of the great apostle of the Gentiles. It was here St. Paul preached to the Galatians. In the fourth century, Ancyra was made an episcopal see. Ancyra is the modern Angora, which is a city of considerable note in the east.

* Tarsus was about twelve miles north of the mouth, and thirty miles south of the southern brow of the pass through which Alexander had passed. In the days of the emperor Augustus, this city rivalled Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria, in wealth, grandeur, literature, and science. It was called Juliopolis, in honour of Julius Cesar, who spent several days here in his pursuit of Pharnaces. Here it was that Antony first met with the fascinating Cleopatra. Here it was, also, that the great apostle of the Gentiles was born. Political changes have reduced it to comparative insignificance. Kinnier, who spent a week at Tarsus, could not discover a single inscription, or any monument of beauty or magnificence. It contains two public baths, a number of mosques, several handsome caravanserai, and a church of great antiquity, said to have been erected by the apostle Paul. During the winter, there are 30,000 inhabitants; but many of the families remove during the hot seasons to the mountains.

him to wait for the enemy; but imagining that Alexander's tardiness to meet him was the effect of terror, and fearing that he would flee from him to avoid an action, he hastened toward Cilicia, where the cavalry and the number of his troops, from the mountainous nature of the country, would be of little service to him.

The order Darius observed in his march was as follows. Before the army were carried silver altars, on which burned the fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were followed by the magi, singing hymns, and 365 youths in scarlet robes. After these came a consecrated car* drawn by white horses, and followed by one of an extraordinary size, which they called "The hòrse of the sun." The equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the vanguard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, in different armour. This body was succeeded by those of the Persians, called "The Immortals," amounting to 10,000, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their dress; for they all wore collars of gold, and were clothed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves, garnished with precious stones. About thirty paces from them came the king's relations, or cousins,† to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and more remarkable for the pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms. After these came Darius himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne. The chariot was enriched, on both sides, with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues, a cubit in height; the one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them with extended wings. The king was clothed with a garment of purple striped with silver; and over it was a long robe, glittering with gold and precious stones, on which were represented two falcons rushing from the clouds at each other. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, whence his scimitar hung, the scabbard of which was covered with gems. On each side of Darius walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horse-

* Quintus Curtius says, that this car was dedicated to Jupiter; but as this god was unknown to the Persians, it is probable he calls Mithra, the first and greatest of their gods, by that name.

† It was thus that this body was called, and probably some of them might be the king's relations; but it must not be so understood of all.

men, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipped with gold. After these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and, lastly, 400 horses belonging to the king.

About 100 paces from the royal divisions of the army came Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines, to the number of 360, all attired like so many queens. These were followed by 600 mules, and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen. After these came the wives of the crown officers, and the lords of the court; then the sutlers and servants of the army. And finally, in the rear, were a body of light armed troops, with their commanders.

Such was the army of Darius. Surrounded with this mighty pomp, he fancied he was great, and was confident of success. In his arrogance, he wrote a letter to Alexander, styling himself king, without giving that title to Alexander. His arrogance was returned with interest, which may illustrate the dispositions of the belligerent monarchs.

Alexander, upon learning that Darius was advancing towards the Euphrates, in order to enter Cilicia, detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, that he might secure a free passage for his army. As for himself, he marched west from Tarsus to Anchialos, a city which is said to have been built by Sardanapalus. From hence he came to Soli, where he offered sacrifices to Esculapius, the god of physic, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander headed the ceremony himself with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army; and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus.

At length Alexander himself set forward in quest of Darius. He first came to Adana,* twenty-eight miles due east of Tarsus, on the right or west bank of the Sarus. From this city Alexander marched to Mallos, thirty-five miles in direct dis-

* Adana is a large city, superior to Tarsus, and the population, chiefly composed of Turks and Turkmans, is nearly in equal number. It is beautifully situated on a rising ground, surrounded by groves of fruit trees and vineyards. There is a bridge over the Jeihoon, (Sarus,) said to have been erected by Justinian; part of the ancient wall still remains, and a noble gateway in the market-place mocks the mean architecture of the Turks.

tance, almost due south of Adana, and the southernmost projection of the coast between Tarsus and the head of the Issic Gulf. From hence he pursued his march north-east to Castabala, the modern Kastanlæ, a city amongst hills, fronting the head or innermost recess of the gulf. In his way thither he crossed the Jeihoon, a large stream, about 160 yards in breadth. From Castabala, about three miles distant, commences a defile of five miles long, through the hills, to a narrow belt of level shore, stretching nearly two miles east and west, and about three quarters of a mile broad from the foot of the hills to the sea. The mouth of this defile is called Kara Capi, "The Black Gate." Along this belt the road runs to Issus, where the contest for the empire of the east took place.

Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. Alexander left the sick in Issus,* and marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius, contrary to the advice of the Greeks, was advancing towards the straits of Cilicia. They advised him to wait for the enemy in the plains of Assyria;† but his courtiers biassed his mind against their advice, and had persuaded him that Alexander's long delay was the effect of terror, inspired by the approach of the Persian army. The adverse hosts missed each other in the night, and Darius entered Cilicia by the pass of Amanus, which lies beyond that of Syria, through which Alexander had entered that country. Darius had not advanced far into Cilicia, when he was informed that Alexander fled before him, and was retiring in great disorder into Syria. He therefore turned short towards Issus, where he barbarously put to death all the sick that Alexander had left therein, a few soldiers excepted, whom,

* There is a great diversity of opinion concerning the exact site of the city of Issus, and consequently of the precise spot where the battle was fought. D'Anville conceives that the ruins of Ayasse represent the ancient Issus; Kinnier places it at Pias; whilst Rennel and Arrowsmith fix it on the site of Oseler, called Karabolat by the Turks. Of the three, the latter seems the most likely, as it is supported by the authority of Xenophon, the Jerusalem itinerary, and five different reports of modern travellers.

† Arrian calls them the plains of Assyria, but they were in reality the plains of Syria. By Greek and Latin writers, however, the term Assyria often comprehended all the tract from the Mediterranean to the river Indus.

after making them view every part of his camp, he dismissed.

Word was soon brought to Alexander, that Darius was behind him in the straits of Cilicia. His keen eye saw that he was taken as in a net, and he immediately prepared for the conflict. Having offered a sacrifice to the gods, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of Issus, which was divided by the river Pinarus, and bounded by the mountains on one side, and by the sea on the other.* Here Darius, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the Macedonians, could only draw up his army in so many lines, one behind the other. The Macedonians soon put the first line to flight, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second on the third, and so on throughout the whole host, an indescribable confusion followed. The issue of the battle was speedily determined. Darius, who fought in the first line, escaped in the tumult with much difficulty, and fled on horseback through the pass by which he came.

There are two passes of the name of Amanus, the Upper and the Lower. It appears to have been by the former that Darius advanced and retreated. The camp of Darius, on his flight, lay, as will be seen, at Sochos, the modern Dubesak, in the great plain on the river Aswad. From this to the foot of the Upper pass of Amanus, is twenty geographical miles direct north. From this to the supposed scene of the action on the Pinarus, is a distance of ten geographical miles direct. The Upper pass of Amanus leads from Killis to Ayasse. Connected with the history of this engagement, therefore, there are four passes: 1. That from Cilicia to Tarsus; 2. The maritime pass by which Cyrus came, ect.; 3. The Lower pass of Amanus, which Darius avoided; and, 4. The Upper pass of Amanus, by which he advanced and retreated.

Alexander was prevented from immediately following Darius, by the prowess of the Greek mercenaries. This powerful body charged the Macedonian phalanx, killed Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, with 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by Alexan-

* Arrian says that Alexander, as soon as he heard of the approach of Darius, returned from Myriandus, and seized upon the straits he was obliged to pass, the evening before the battle. These straits are a narrow border of low lands at the foot of high steep cliffs, and called the Syrian gates, at the river Kersus, the modern Mahersy, eight miles south of Alexandria. They answer to the second maritime pass of the text.

der in person, maintained their ground till they were reduced from 20,000 to 8,000. They retired then in good order over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the transports that had conveyed them from Lesbos lying on the shore, they fitted out a number, and sailed to Cyprus.

As soon as Alexander had repulsed the Greek mercenaries, he hastened after Darius. He pursued in vain; and growing weary, he returned to the camp at midnight, and refreshed himself in the baths prepared for Darius, whose tent was taken, with his mother, wife, and children, and a vast booty, and reserved for the conqueror, during the plunder of the enemy's camp.

According to Arrian, the Persians lost 110,000 men in this battle; ancient authors, however, differ very much on this subject; and it is difficult to determine which is correct. The loss of life was doubtless great, and that on both sides, though Quintus Curtius relates that not more than 450 of the Macedonians were slain.

The next day, Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be buried in great pomp, in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle array. He treated the persons of distinction in the same manner, and permitted the mother of Darius to bury as many as she pleased according to the ceremonies used in Persia.

The conqueror treated his royal captives with great tenderness and humanity. Plutarch says, "that they were in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in an holy temple, designed for the asylum of virtue; they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion but such as were appointed to attend them." From a letter which Alexander wrote to Parmenio, we find that the consort of Darius, and her two daughters, being princesses possessing great beauty, he resolved never to see them after his first visit, which was the day after the battle. Alexander had the one great object of the Persian empire in view, and he avoided the debasing influence of pleasure, lest he should lose the prize. It would be well for the Christian warrior to act thus from nobler motives. With the kingdom of heaven in view, he should resolutely avoid every pleasure of earth that would deprive him of his crown. His path is surrounded by roses that have thorns, which would pierce his inmost soul; by pleasures that would rob him of eternal happiness. The world cries:—

"I am thine end; Felicity my name;
The best of wishes, pleasures, riches, fame,
Are humble vassals, which my throne attend,
And make you mortals happy when I send:
In my left hand delicious fruits I hold,
To feed them who with mirth and ease grow old;
Afraid to lose the fleeting days and nights,
They seize on time, and spend it in delights,
My right hand with triumphant crowns is stored,
Which all the kings of former times adored:
These gifts are thine: then enter where no strife,
No grief, no pain shall interrupt thy life."—Beaumont.

Beware of these snares of the world; for Scripture declares, "the friendship of the world is enmity with God," James iv. 4.

The principal treasures of Darius had been deposited at Damascus. Alexander, shortly after the battle, detached Parmenio thither with the Thessalian horse, to take possession of them. They were betrayed into Parmenio's hands by the governor, who, in return for his treachery, was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to Darius. The treasures were immense, sufficient, says Plutarch, to load 7,000 camels. Thirty thousand prisoners were also taken at the same time, among whom were many of great distinction: there was scarcely a noble family in Persia who did not partake in this calamity.

In Darius we behold the mutability of earthly grandeur. Whilst Alexander was seizing his riches, he who, but a few hours before, was at the head of so mighty an army, and who came into the field with all the pride of a conqueror, was fleeing for his life. He rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied only by a few attendants. In two or three days, he arrived at Sochos, where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to 4,000 men, including Persians and mercenaries. From hence he hastened to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Alexander advanced into Syria, most of the cities of which surrendered at his approach. Being arrived at Marathon, he received a letter from Darius, who was now at Babylon, complaining of his aggressions, offering to ransom his wife, mother, and children, and to treat about peace. The letter was written, notwithstanding the fall of Darius, in the usual haughty style of the kings of the east. Alexander answered him in the same spirit, concluding with this sentence: "When you write next to me, remember that

you write to the king of Asia. Treat me no more as your equal, but as lord of all you possess. If you dispute my title, prepare to do so in another general engagement; but attempt not to flee, for wherever you go, I am determined to pursue you." Thus was he like a ravenous bird seeking its prey.

Alexander marched from Marathon into Phenicia, where the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him; and their example was followed by others as he advanced into the country. The Sidonians, who had, as stated in the life of Ochus, been cruelly treated by that prince, retaining an abhorrence of the Persians, received Alexander with great joy. This people were among the first in the country who submitted to him, and they did so in opposition to their king, who declared in favour of Darius. Alexander deposed him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station. Abdalonymus, descended remotely from the royal line, was taken from a low station in life to wear the diadem, in compliance with this permission. Alexander commanded the newly-elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively, spoke to this effect; "Thy air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty?" "Would to the gods," he replied, "that I may bear this crown with equal fortitude. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." Socrates has well observed, that he is the richest man who is contented with the least; for contentment is the riches of nature. The inspired precept is far more emphatic: "Having food and raiment let us be therewith content," 1 Tim. vi. 8.

While Alexander was in Phenicia, some of the Persian generals who had escaped the slaughter at Issus, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with the aid of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians, to recover Lydia; but they were defeated in several engagements by Antigonus, whom Alexander had appointed governor of that province. At the same time, the Macedonian fleet sailing from Greece came up with and destroyed the fleet commanded by Aristomenes, whom Darius had sent to recover the cities on the Hellespont.

All Syria and Phenicia were now subdued by Alexander, insular Tyre excepted, to which he next laid siege.

It has been seen in former pages,* that Nebuchadnezzar,

* See the History of the Assyrians, and the present history, page 160.

according to the voice of prophecy, had laid ancient Tyre in the dust, and that the Tyrians continued without a king for seventy years, to which period the duration of their subjection was limited by prophecy, Isa. xxiii. 15—17; that is, to the termination of the Babylonian monarchy, when the Tyrians, with some other remote nations, were restored to comparative independence by the Persians.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it, unmindful of the finger of prophecy which pointed to her future ruin. Yes, while Ezekiel speaks primarily of the destruction of continental Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, he, by a transition not unusual in Scripture, glances at the subsequent destruction of the insular Tyre by Alexander, near 400 years after the first. Its doom was also foretold by the prophets Isaiah and Zechariah.

"Pass through thy land as a river, O daughter of Tarshish:
There is no more strength.
He stretched out his hand over the sea,
He shook the kingdoms:
The Lord hath given a commandment against the merchant city,
To destroy the strong holds thereof.
And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice,
O thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Zidon:
Arise, pass over to Chittim, [Macedonia;]
There also shalt thou have no rest."—*Isa.* xxiii. 10—12.

"And Hamath also shall border thereby;
Tyrus, and Zidon, though it be very wise.
And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold,
And heaped up silver as the dust,
And fine gold as the mire of the streets.
Behold, the Lord will cast her out,
And he will smite her power in the sea;
And she shall be devoured with fire.
Ashkelon shall see it, and fear;
Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful,
And Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed;
And the king shall perish from Gaza,
And Ashkelon shall not be inhabited."—*Zech.* ix. 2—5.

The prophet powerfully describes the conduct of the Tyrians after their redemption from obscurity, which is the cause of their second humiliation.

"After the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot.
Take an harp, go about the city,
Thou harlot that hast been forgotten:
Make sweet melody, sing many songs,
That thou mayest be remembered.

And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years,
That the Lord will visit Tyre,
And she shall turn to her hire,
And shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world
Upon the face of the earth."—*Isa.* xxiii. 15—17.

Thus, after her season of obscurity, seventy years, the prophet foresaw that Tyre would again endeavour to appear with the air of a harlot; that she would promote her commerce by fraud and deceit; that she would visit every part of the world to collect the most rare and delicate productions of every country, to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendour; and that she would use every effort to renew her ancient treaties, and to recover the confidence of her former correspondents, with her trade and credit. And such had been the policy of the Tyrians. Under the Persians, the people of Tyre recovered much of their former wealth and importance. As into one common storehouse they collected the amber of Prussia, the tin of Britain, the linen of Egypt, the spices of Arabia, the slaves of Caucasus, and the horses of Scythia. The king of Tyre was present at the council of war which Xerxes, the Persian monarch, held concerning the Greeks, and his seat was second only from the king, which shows to what importance Tyre had again risen in the scale of nations. But her second overthrow was at hand. Alexander took Tyre, after a siege of seven months, burned it, slew 8000 of the Tyrians, crucified 2000 more, and sold 30,000 captives, in order to strike terror into the neighbouring states by the severity. His enlarged views of commercial policy, however, induced him to re-people Tyre from the adjacent countries, thus undesignedly fulfilling prophecy. A brighter era was in the distance for Tyre. A day was coming when she should no longer be a scandal and a stumbling block to the nations around,—when her inhabitants should embrace Christianity. (See Psa. xlv. 12; lxxii. 10; Isa. xxiii. 18.) And thus it was. Many of the people of Tyre in the end embraced the Jewish religion, and that city was one of the first that received the faith of Christ. He had, while on earth, himself visited the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and miraculously healed the woman of Canaan's daughter. Paul found there some faithful disciples in his journey to Jerusalem; and in the persecution under Dioclesian, there were many sincere believers at Tyre, who counted not their own lives dear unto them. But Tyre still seems to have been devoted to destruc-

tion; and successive persecutions have caused it literally to become, as the prophet Ezekiel prophesied it should become,

> "A place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."
> *Ezek.* xxvi. 5.

During the siege of Tyre, Darius wrote again to Alexander, offering to cede to him all the provinces west of the Euphrates, to give him his daughter in marriage, as a friend and ally, and 10,000 talents for the ransom of his family. In order to gain his consent to these terms, Darius pointed out to him the inconstancy of fortune, and described in pompous terms the numberless troops which were still at his command. When these proposals were communicated to his privy council, Parmenio said, "I would accept them, were I Alexander." "And I too," replied he, "were I Parmenio." But Alexander returned the following answer: "That he wanted no money from Darius, nor would accept part of the country, since he was lord of the whole; that if he chose he could marry the daughter of Darius, even without his consent; and that he required Darius to come to him, if he wished to make Alexander his friend."

Despairing of peace with such a haughty foe, Darius continued his preparations for war, while Alexander proceeded on his systematic plan of conquest.

The people of Jerusalem had refused him supplies during the siege of Tyre, and rejected his friendship; declaring, that as they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius, they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he lived. Alexander now turned aside from Gaza, with vengeance in his heart, to punish them for such rare conduct, which ought to have been his admiration.

In this exigency, Jaddua the high priest, who governed under the Persians, relying on the protection of the Almighty, gave orders that public prayers should be made to implore his assistance, and offered sacrifices. No nations or individuals have ever truly sought the protection of Heaven in vain. The night after, we are told, Jaddua was commanded in a vision to cause flowers to be scattered up and down the city, to set open all the gates, and to go clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their vestments, to meet Alexander; and not to fear any evil from the king, inasmuch as he would protect them. Accordingly, this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called Sapha, which commanded a view of

the city and temple, and there waited the arrival of Alexander.

The conqueror came. As he approached, struck with awful respect, he advanced alone to meet the high priest, saluted him first, and adored the sacred name of Jehovah written on the front of his mitre, to the great surprise and disappointment of the Phenicians and Chaldeans, who expected his orders to destroy the Jewish priests and plunder the city. Alexander recognized in Jaddua the person whom he had seen in the vision at Dios. He explained this to his followers; adding, that having undertaken the expedition by a Divine mission, he should conquer Darius, overthrow the Persian empire, and succeed in all his designs. After this explanation, he embraced the high priest and his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God in the temple, according to the high priest's directions.

While at Jerusalem, the high priest showed Alexander the passages in the prophecy of Daniel relating to himself, and which now demand our attention. The prophecies which relate to the Macedo-Grecian empire are exceedingly remarkable; and the reader, in tracing them in the dreams and visions, cannot fail to observe, that they become progressively more definite, till at last the "king of Grecia," Alexander, is distinctly mentioned. We shall notice them in the order they were revealed.

The first dream, B. C. 569.—This was of a compound image of gold, silver, brass, and iron, denoting four successive kingdoms, Dan. ii. 31—45. Now in ancient coins and medals it is usual to see cities and nations represented by human figures, male or female. A vast image of a human figure was therefore a fit emblem of sovereign power and dominion, while the materials of which it was composed significantly typified the character of the various empires, the succession of which was foreshown by the vision, and which has been so well explained by the prophet himself, and with the illustration derived from his own future visions, that little or no cavil has taken place on essential points, except in that portion yet unfulfilled. The head of "fine gold," as we have seen in the article Nebuchadnezzar, represented the Babylonian empire. The other parts downwards represented the great empires which should successively arise upon its ruins. The breast and arms of silver denoted the Medo-Persian kingdom. And it is remarkable that their arms and

shields were frequently ornamented or cased with silver, whence Alexander instituted that remarkable body of veteran infantry called Argyraspides, from their "silver shields;" after the conquest of the Persians, adopting the manners of the conquered nations. This empire lasted from B. C. 536 to the battle of Arbela, B. C. 331. The "belly and thighs of brass" (see Dan. ii. 32) denoted the Macedo-Grecian kingdoms of Alexander and his successors. And the Greeks usually wore brazen armour, whence the Egyptian oracle described them on one occasion as "brazen men rising out of the sea." This empire lasted 163 years to the conquest of the first kingdom, Macedonia, B. C. 168, and 300 years to the conquest of the last, Egypt, B. C. 30; when "the legs of iron," and the "feet, part of iron and part of clay," which refers to the Roman power, trampled over them by conquest.

The first vision, B. C. 558.—This vision corresponds to the dream, portraying the same things under living emblems. The four kingdoms in it are represented by four ferocious wild beasts rising out of the sea, agitated by the four winds striving for the mastery. The first beast resembled a lion with eagle's wings, to denote the fierceness and rapidity of Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the Babylonian empire, which accords with the description of that monarch by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. See Jer. iv. 7; xlviii. 40; and Ezek. xvii. 3. At the time of this vision, its "wings were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man;" and it also had "a man's heart," and not the boldness of the lion; that is, its career was checked, and its stability weakened by the victories of Cyrus, Dan. vii. 4. The second beast resembled a bear, raised on one side, with three ribs in its teeth, aptly expressing the Medo-Persian empire; Darius the Mede being of a sluggish disposition, until stimulated to conquest by Cyrus, his nephew, who reduced Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt under his dominion, three kingdoms answering to the three ribs, ver. 5. The third beast resembled a leopard in its nature and motions, with two pair of wings to express rapidity, which aptly denoted the founder of the Macedonian empire. This beast had also four heads, which shadowed forth the four kingdoms of the Greeks—Macedon, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt—into which his empire was divided after the death of Alexander, ver. 6. The fourth beast, which represented the Roman power, was the most terrible of all, exceedingly strong, with great iron teeth, with

which it devoured and brake in pieces the others, and trampled upon the residue, etc. ver. 7, 8.

The second vision, B. C. 556.—At the date of this vision, the Babylonian empire was fallen rapidly into decay; hence it describes more particularly the succession of the second, third, and fourth empires. On the banks of the river Ulai, Daniel saw a ram standing, or established in his strength, after the succession of the Persian power under Cyrus; it had two horns, with which it was pushing or butting, "westward, and northward, and southward," or subduing Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt with their dependencies, and doing according to his will, and becoming great, Dan. viii. 3, 4. The ram was the armorial ensign of the Persian empire, and rams' heads, with unequal horns, one higher than the other, are still to be seen on the ruined pillars of Persepolis. The lower horn denoted the Median power; the higher, which "came up last," the Persian. While the prophet was meditating on the ram, a he goat from the west, with a notable horn between his eyes, (Alexander the Great,) who touched not the ground, (for swiftness,) traversed the whole earth, (or the Persian empire,) and ran at the ram (Darius Codomannus) in the fury of his power; and was "moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns,—and cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones [the four kingdoms of Macedo-Greece, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt] toward the four winds of heaven," ver. 4—8. The interpretation of this vision is given by the angel who showed it to the prophet. "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings [or kingdoms] of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king [or kingdom] of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king [Alexander.] Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power," ver. 20—22. Ancient authors state that the figure of a goat was represented on the royal standard of the Macedonian kings; and that the origin of this device commenced with Caranus, the first of those kings. The reason is thus assigned. Caranus, they say, was a native of Argos, and a remote descendant of the renowned Hercules. Caranus left his native city, accompanied by a considerable body of Greeks, in search of a foreign settlement. Consulting the

oracle where he should establish his colony, he was answered that he should be guided in his measures by the direction of the goats. He pursued his course into the country since known by the name of Macedonia, and particularly the small principality of Æmathia, then governed by a prince called Midas, and drew near to its capital, Edessa. The sky being suddenly overcast, and a great storm coming on, Caranus observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city. Recollecting the response of the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them closely, and entering the city by surprise, he possessed himself of it, and afterwards of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, the goats, he changed the name of the place to Ægea, or "the city of goats," called his people Ægeates, and made use of a goat in his standard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this event. As the ram, therefore, was the symbol of the Medo-Persian empire, so that of a goat was symbolical of Alexander the Great. In this vision, the Roman power, which was to triumph over these empires, is represented under the figure of a "king of fierce countenance," which will claim more ample notice hereafter.

The fourth vision. B, C. 534.—In the revelation of this vision, after Daniel had been recovered from a trance into which he had fallen, by the touch of the hand of the angel, the plain "Scripture of truth" is unfolded. That which relates to the Persians and Alexander reads thus: "And now will I show thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, [after him from whom the vision commenced, Darius Nothus; namely, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus;] and the fourth [Darius Codomannus] shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia, [which, as we have seen, he did do.] And a mighty king [Alexander] shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, [in his strength,] his kingdom shall be broken and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those," [namely, for his four generals,] Dan. xi. 2—4.

From these prophecies, the reader will perceive that the Almighty presides over all events which happen in the world, and rules with absolute sway over man, cities, and empires; while he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and

ordinary events. In all that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the capture of cities, battles won or lost, empires established or overthrown, God is not described as having any concern in these things, and some would suppose that man is abandoned to work according to his own will and pleasure. But to prevent our falling into such a temptation, so repugnant to religion and reason itself, the Most High sometimes condescends to discover to our wondering eyes the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretell, ages before the event, what shall befall the different nations of the earth. He reveals here to the "man greatly beloved," the order, the succession, and the different characteristics of the four great empires to which he was determined to subject the different nations of the universe; namely, that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks, and of the Romans. These, and other prophecies, in which God explains himself so clearly, should be considered as very precious, and serve as so many keys to open to our understanding the secret methods by which he governs the world. These bright rays of light should enable a rational and religious man to see and acknowledge the Divine hand in the varied events of profane history. Strains should follow the review of this

> "——— of acknowledgment addressed
> To an Authority enthroned above
> The reach of sight."—Wordsworth.

The effect which the narration of these prophecies had upon the mind of Alexander may be readily conceived. He looked upon the conquest of the Persian empire as already in his hands, and he soon passed on to obtain this consummation of his wishes. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bade them ask any favour they pleased. They requested to be allowed to live according to the law of their fathers, as well as the Jews resident in Babylonia and Media; and to be exempt every seventh year from their usual tribute, explaining that they were forbidden by their laws to sow in that year and consequently could reap no harvest. Alexander granted these requests, and promised all who were willing to serve under his standard, that they should follow their own mode of worship, and obey their own customs, which act of policy gained an augmentation to his forces from that people.

Alexander had no sooner left Jerusalem than he was

waited upon by a deputation of Samaritans, who solicited him to visit their temple, which he declined, stating that he was compelled to hasten onward to the conquest of Egypt. They then requested exemption from paying the seventh year tribute, which had been granted the Jews; but receiving an ambiguous answer to the question whether they were Jews, Alexander suspended the matter till his return, and continued his march towards Gaza.

On his arrival at Gaza, Alexander found it defended by a strong garrison under the command of Betis, one of the eunuchs of Darius; who being a man of great experience in military affairs, and faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against Alexander to the last extremity. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was necessary for him to take it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was resorted to, and great bravery was displayed by his warriors, two months elapsed before its reduction. Exasperated at this impediment in his march, and his receiving two wounds, on taking it, he destroyed ten thousand men, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children. He treated the governor, who was taken prisoner, in the last assault, with unwonted barbarity. When brought before him, covered with honourable wounds, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity merited, he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a cord being put through them and tied to a chariot, he caused him to be dragged round the city till he expired. These were lamentable actions, and denote that the sentiments and conduct of Alexander began to change with his prosperity.

Ancient historians relate, that the conduct of Alexander towards Betis sprung from a desire of imitating the ferocity of Achilles, in dragging the dead body of Hector thrice round the walls of Troy. This is one of the mischiefs of a warlike education: it disposes the mind to delight in the recital of deeds of carnage, and no poem is more calculated to produce such fiendish feelings than the Iliad of Homer. Alexander excelled even his prototype Achilles in cruelty. Achilles was prompted by the passion of revenge for the death of his much loved Patroclus, whom Hector had slain, and over whom he mourned in the tenderest accents. The conduct of Alexander towards his fallen foe Betis was not attended with extenuating circumstances. He had no other motive to satiate his inhuman rage but the brave defence which Betis made

of the city entrusted to his charge by his lawful sovereign, unless we except the vain desire of imitating Achilles.

There is yet another light in which this action must be viewed. It must be remembered that it was not the act of a half-civilized savage, (for the heroes of Homer were no better;) it was committed by a civilized prince, one who was brought up at the feet of Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of his day, and who was himself renowned for his learning and philosophy. And yet no action of those barbarous sovereigns, the Persian kings, could exceed this in refined cruelty. Alas! civilization without Christianity is but another term for barbarism. It is only by the hallowed doctrines of the gospel that man can learn humanity. Already, Christianity has mitigated the feelings of ambition and revenge, whence so many woes have arisen to the human race. This is a noble achievement. Hereafter, mankind will be taught by its hallowed doctrines to look upon a hero in his true light, as a destroyer of his species; hereafter under its benign influence, they will weep over the recital of deeds of blood, and mourn over the slaughter of their species; hereafter they shall universally "pass by securely as men averse from war," serving under the banner of the Prince of Peace.

As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, B. C. 332, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt, of which country he possessed himself without a single conflict, as related in the History of the Egyptians, to which the reader is referred for the details.

Having settled the affairs of Egypt, Alexander set out from thence in the spring of the year, B. C. 331, to march into the east against Darius. He first halted at Tyre, where he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces. From thence he marched to the Euphrates, which he crossed, according to Rennel, at Racca, or Nicephorium, and continued his march towards the Tigris.

During the absence of Alexander in Egypt some Samaritans, perhaps enraged that they had not obtained the same privileges as the Jews, set fire to the house of Andromachus, whom he had appointed his governor, and he perished in the flames. The other Samaritans delivered up the culprits to Alexander on his return; but the conqueror was so enraged, that, not satisfied with their punishment, he removed the Samaritans from their city, and transferred thither a Macedonian colony. This event precluded the reconsideration of their previous claim, respecting the sabbatic year; and thus

excluded from Samaria, the Samaritans thenceforth made Shechem their metropolis.

In the mean time, Darius, finding that there were no hopes of an accommodation unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make preparations for another engagement. For this purpose, he assembled a very considerable army in Babylon, with which he took the field, and marched towards Nineveh. Advice being brought him that the enemy was advancing, he detached Satropates, commander of the cavalry, at the head of 1000 chosen horse, and Mazæus, governor of that province, with 6000, to prevent Alexander from crossing the Tigris, and to waste the country through which he was to pass. But it was too late. With his usual rapidity, Alexander had reached and passed that rapid river, in about twenty-three hours' travelling according to Hadgy Khalifa, above Mousul, and twenty-four miles below the ridge of Zaco. At this season the Tigris was at its lowest ebb.

Alexander encamped two days on the banks of the Tigris. On the evening of the second day, Sept. 20, there was a remarkable lunar eclipse, which gave Alexander and his army great uneasiness. The soldiers exclaimed that Heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged against the will of the gods, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers opposed their passage; that the stars refused to lend their usual light, and that they could see nothing but deserts and solitudes before them. They were upon the point of an insurrection, when Alexander summoned the officers of his army into his tent, and commanded the Egyptian soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These men were well acquainted with the nature and causes of eclipses; but without explaining these, they contented themselves with stating, that the sun ruled in Greece, and the moon in Persia; whence, as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some calamity was portended to the country. This answer satisfied the superstitious multitude, and their hopes and courage revived.

Taking advantage of the ardour of his army, Alexander recommenced his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called Cordyæi.* At daybreak he received intelligence that the army of Darius

* This proves that Alexander passed the Tigris above Mousul. From the defile of Zaco to that place the country is for the most part a plain, having the Tigris on the right hand, and the range of the Zagros at a distance on the left.

was near; but it proved only to be the detachment sent to prevent his passage across the Tigris. These retired before him, and rejoined the army of Darius.

About this time, Alexander intercepted some letters written by Darius to the Greeks, soliciting them, with great promises, either to kill or betray him.

Word was brought to him about the same time that Statira, the wife of Darius, was dead. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost magnificence, and comforted the other royal prisoners with great tenderness. Darius was informed of this, and being assured of the respect paid to her by the conqueror in her lifetime, he is said to have prayed to the gods, that if the time ordained for the transferring of the Persian empire into other hands had arrived, none might sit on the throne of Cyrus but Alexander. Overcome by the tenderness and humanity which Alexander had shown his wife, mother and children, Darius dispatched ten of his relations as ambassadors, offering him new conditions of peace, more advantageous than the former; offering him, indeed, all that he had conquered, and returning him thanks for his kindness to his royal captives. Alexander returned the following haughty answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, between persons who make war against each other, are superfluous; and that in case I have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for my own sake, and not for his; to gratify my own inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or women, and turn my rage only against such as are armed for the fight. If Darius were sincere in his demand for peace, I then would debate on what was to be done; but since he still continues, by letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour; and that not as an enemy, but an assassin. It indeed becomes him to offer to yield up to me what I already possess! Would he be satisfied with ranking second to me, without pretending to be my equal, I might possibly then hear him. Tell him that the world will not permit two suns nor two sovereigns. Let him therefore either choose to surrender to-day, or meet me to-morrow; and not to flatter himself with the hopes of better success than he has had hitherto."

By this the reader will perceive that Alexander had become intoxicated with his success. Oh, how hard it is to bear pros-

perity with a proper frame of mind! Truly has it been said, that when the channels of plenty run high, and every appetite is plied with abundance and variety, so that satisfaction is but a mean word to express its enjoyment, then the inbred corruption of the human heart shows itself pampered and insolent, too unruly for discipline, and too big for correction.

The ambassadors of Darius returned, and informed him that he must now prepare for battle. Accordingly, he pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela,* and the river Bumellus, the modern Hazir Su, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela, where he had before levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. At the same time he had prepared caltrops† to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander hearing that Darius was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army. During this time, he was engaged in surrounding it with deep trenches and palisades, being determined to leave his baggage there, and such of his troops as were unable to join in the conflict. On the fifth morning, he set out about the second watch, designing to engage the enemy at break of day. Arriving at some mountains from whence he could descry the enemy's army, he halted; and having assembled his officers, he debated whether he should attack them immediately, or encamp in that place. The latter opinion being adopted, he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and, after having consulted with his soothsayer, as was his usual wont on the eve of a battle, he retired to repose, fully confident of obtaining the empire of the east on the morrow, and that he should reign without a rival.

The morrow came, and both sides prepared for battle. Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings. The front of the Persian army was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and twenty-five elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, Darius had posted

* The camp of Darius was about ten miles to the north of the Lycus or Zab. According to Niebuhr and Rennel, the ancient Gaugamela is to be recognized in the modern village of Kamalis. The ground around here offers little or no impediment to the evolutions and movements of the largest armies.

† These were instruments composed of spikes, several of which were anciently laid in the field through which the cavalry was to march, in order that they might pierce the feet of the horses.

the Grecian infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a larger space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them at the same time, both in front and flank. Alexander anticipated this, and gave directions accordingly. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bowmen, slingers, and javelin men, in order that they might counteract the effect of the chariots, by discharging their missiles at the horses, to frighten them. Those who led the wings were ordered to extend them as widely as possible, but in such a manner as not to weaken the main body. Parmenio commanded the left wing, and Alexander the right. The two armies soon joined issue. The chariots failed in the effect intended, and the Persian cavalry in the left wing were repulsed, upon which Darius set his whole army in motion, in order to overwhelm the Macedonians. Upon seeing this, Alexander employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the strife was at the height, and fury pervaded every breast, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, and holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advanced among the troops, crying that he saw an eagle (a sure omen of victory) hovering over the head of Alexander, to which pretended bird he pointed with his finger. The soldiers relying upon his word, and imagining that they also saw the eagle, renewed the attack with greater resolution than ever. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but the Macedonians prevailed. Alexander having wounded the equerry of Darius with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former were seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards; but those who were at his right surrounded him, in order to rescue him from death. Historians relate, that he drew his scimitar, and reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than flee in an ignominious manner; but the love of life prevailed, and he fled to Arbela, where he arrived the same night.

After Darius had passed the Lycus, some of his attendants advised him to break down the bridge, in order to stop the pursuit of the enemy; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over, generously replied, that he had rather leave an open road to a pursuing enemy, than close it to a fleeing friend. When he reached Arbela,

he informed those who had escaped with him, that he designed to leave all for the present to Alexander, and flee into Media, from whence, and from the rest of the northern provinces, he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle.

Historians differ as to the number of the Persians slain on this fatal day. Curtius says 40,000; Arrian, 30,000; and Diodorus, 90,000. The first of these authorities states that the Macedonians lost only 300 men, while Arrian does not allow a third of that number; but this cannot be true: if the battle was so obstinate, and the Persian army so numerous as they make it, (600,000, 700,000, or 800,000 men,) they could not have bought the empire thus cheaply. There is, doubtless, on the one side exaggeration, and on the other extenuation, with reference to the numbers stated. The battle was fought on the first of October, B. C. 331.

Alexander, after offering magnificent sacrifices to the gods, for the victory, and rewarding those who had signalized themselves in the battle, pursued Darius as far as Arbela; but before his arrival there, the fallen monarch had fled over the mountains of Armenia, attended by some of his relatives, and a small body of guards called *Melophori*, because each of them wore a golden apple on the top of his spear. In Armenia, he was joined by 2000 Greek mercenaries who had escaped the slaughter.

Alexander took the city of Arbela, where he seized on immense sums of money, with all the rich furniture and equipage of Darius, and then returned to his camp.

The conqueror rested but a few days. Some cities yet remained untaken, and some provinces unsubdued, and he was uneasy till they were in his possession. He first proceeded to Babylon. Mazæus was governor of that city and province, and he had, after the late battle, retired thither, with the remains of the body he commanded. He was almost powerless; upon Alexander's arrival, therefore, he delivered the city, himself, and his children, into the conqueror's hands. His example was followed by Bagaphanes, governor of the fortress, wherein all the treasures of Darius were deposited; and Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching against the enemy, and received the riches of Babylon.

During his stay in Babylon, Alexander held many conferences with the magi, and acting upon their advice, he gave directions for rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had de-

molished; and, among others, that of Belus. He frequently conversed, also, with the Chaldeans, who were famous for their knowledge in astronomy, and who presented him with astronomical observations, taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle. Before he departed, he gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

About this time, Alexander received recruits to the number of 2000 horse, and 13,500 foot, under the command of Amyntas. These he incorporated into his veteran army; himself being present at the reviews as often as they were exercised.

After a stay of about thirty days in Babylon, during which time the people abandoned themselves to pleasures of the grossest nature, Alexander marched towards Susa, passing through the fertile province of Sitacene. He arrived at Susa in twenty days. As he approached the city, Abulites, governor of the place, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands, with all the treasures of Darius. The young nobleman conducted Alexander to the river Choaspes, where Abulites himself met him, and performed his promise. The treasures of Susa were added to the coffers of Alexander. Surely he was a mighty robber! He found in this place the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Xerxes had brought out of Greece, and Alexander now restored them to Athens.

Leaving a strong garrison in the city of Susa, Alexander, after having appointed Archelaus governor of the city, Mezarus, governor of the citadel, and Abulites, governor of the province of Susiana, marched into Persis. Having crossed the river Pasi Tigris (the modern Jerahi) he entered the country of the Uxii. This province extends from Susiana to the frontiers of Persis, and it was governed by Madetes, who was not a follower of fortune. Faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; for which purpose he retired into a stronghold, in the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded by steep precipices. Having been chased from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter. Alexander would not at first listen to the petition; but receiving letters from Sisigambis, whom he had left at Susa, and to whom Madetes was related, he not only pardoned him, but restored him to his former dignity, set all the prisoners

free, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their ancient liberty and privileges.

Having subdued the Uxii, Alexander ordered Parmenio to march with part of his army through the plain, while he himself, at the head of his light armed troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. On the fifth day, he arrived at the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with 4000 foot, and 700 horse, had possessed himself of this pass, and he had so posted his little band, that they were out of the reach of arrows. As soon as Alexander advanced in order to attack them, they rolled from the top of the mountains stones of a prodigious size, which, rebounding from rock to rock, smote down whole ranks. The conqueror was astounded, and gave orders for a retreat. He withdrew about thirty furlongs, where he lay encamped some time, afraid to proceed, and ashamed to return. His pride was about to be humbled, and his career of victory checked, when a Greek deserter coming to his camp, offered to conduct him through by-paths to the top of the mountains, whence he might compel the Persians to retreat. Accordingly, Alexander, at the head of some chosen troops, having followed his guide by night over rocks and precipices, arrived a little before daybreak at the top of a mountain which commanded all the hills where the enemy was posted. A charge was made, and they fled; and Craterus, who had been left in the camp below, advancing with the troops, possessed himself of the pass. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, breaking through the Macedonians, (by which act many were slaughtered on both sides,) made his escape over the mountains, designing to throw himself into Persepolis; but he was chased back again by the enemy below, and he, with most of his valiant band, perished on the mountains.

Alexander now pursued his march into Persis, or Persia. When he was at some distance from Persepolis, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of that city, urging his speedy arrival, lest the inhabitants of the city should seize the treasures of Darius, to which act they were inclined. Alexander, upon this news, left his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, and passing the Araxes by a bridge he had previously ordered to be made, came to Persepolis.

Diodorus tells us, that Alexander, having assembled his troops, made a speech, wherein he charged this city with having caused innumerable mischiefs to Greece, with implacable

hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her spoils. To avenge these injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with the inhabitants and their estates whatever they thought proper. The licensed soldiery rushed into the place, and put to the sword, without mercy, all they could find. The cruelties they committed were revolting to human nature: they show to what a dreadful extent the demoniacal spirit of revenge will carry a man when left to himself, or when licensed by a superior.

After this cruel act, leaving Craterus and Parmenio in the place, Alexander proceeded with a small body to reduce the neighbouring cities and strongholds, which submitted at the approach of his troops. He returned to Persepolis, and there took up his winter quarters. It was during this stay that he destroyed the palace, as related in the account of "Persepolis;" an act worthy of a Goth. The season was spent in feasting and revelling, regardless of the havoc he had made among his species, and of the devastation of the countries over which his ambitious feet had passed.

The spring found Alexander again on his march in quest of Darius. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 Greeks who continued faithful to his cause. Besides these, he had 4000 slingers, and upwards of 3000 cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governor of the province of Bactriana. All these declared that they were ready to follow him withersoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of blood in his defence. But there were traitors in the camp. Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, conspired with Bessus to seize upon the person of the king, and put him in chains. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in the event of their escape from the conqueror, to murder Darius, usurp his crown, and begin a new war. The traitors soon won over the troops by representing to them that they were going to certain destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire already shaken to its foundation; while at the same time Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. These intrigues were carried on with great secrecy; but nevertheless, they came to the ears of Darius, and he would not believe them. In vain did Patron, who commanded the Greeks, entreat him to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person with men on whose

fidelity he might depend. He replied, that it would be a less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn the Persians; that he would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather than seek for security among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them; and that he could not die too soon, if the Persian soldiers considered him unworthy of life. Darius was soon undeceived: the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, and putting him in a covered chariot, they marched towards Bactriana.

In the mean time, Alexander advanced rapidly towards Media. He reached that province in twelve days, moving nearly forty miles each day. In three days more, he reached Ecbatana, where he was informed that Darius had retired from thence five days before, with intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia (which, according to Strabo and Justin, amounted to about 30,000,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of the rich gifts Alexander had munificently given at various periods to his followers) in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard, which he left there. Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at Rhages, which is about a day's journey from the Caspian Straits. He was informed that Darius had passed those straits some time before, which information leaving him again without hopes of overtaking his prey, he halted five days, during which time he settled the affairs of Media.

From Rhages, Alexander marched into Parthia, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the Caspian Straits. He passed those straits the next day, and he had scarcely entered Parthia, when he was informed of the conspiracy against Darius.

This was a fresh motive for Alexander to hasten his march. At length he overtook them; and the barbarians, on his arrival, were seized with consternation. The name and reputation of Alexander, a motive all powerful in war, filled them with such terror, that they universally betook themselves to flight, notwithstanding their number exceeded that of the pursuer. Bessus and his accomplices requested Darius to mount his horse and flee from the enemy; but he replied that the gods were ready to avenge the evils he had suffered, and invoking Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow them. At these words, full of rage, they discharged their darts at the unhappy monarch and left him wounded to the mercy of

the Macedonians. This done, they separated, Bessus fleeing towards Hyrcania, and Nabarzanes into Bactria, hoping thereby to elude the pursuit of the enemy, or oblige him to divide his forces. Their hosts dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps, and many thousands were slain.

In the mean time, the horses that drew the cart in which the once mighty Darius was seated, halted, for the drivers had been killed by Bessus, near a village about half a mile from the highway. Polystratus, a Macedonian, being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself at an adjacent fountain. As he was filling his helmet with water, he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round, discovered a cart, in which, on drawing near, he found the unhappy monarch. The hunters had long pursued him, and they found him at length in the agonies of death. He had yet strength sufficient to call for a little water, which, when he had taken, he turned to the Macedonian, and, with a faint voice, said, that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small consolation to him that his last words would not be lost. He, therefore, charged him to tell Alexander that he died in his debt, without having had the power of returning his obligations; that he thanked him for the kindness he had shown to his mother, wife, and children; that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him master of the universe; and that he thought he need not entreat him to revenge the traitorous death he suffered, as this was the common cause of kings. Then taking Polystratus by the hand, he added: "Give Alexander your hand, as I give you mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I have to give, in this condition, of my gratitude and affection." Having uttered these words, Darius expired in the arms of Polystratus.

Alexander, it is said, coming up a few minutes after, and beholding the dead body of the fallen monarch, burst into tears, and bewailed the cruel lot of a prince, who, he observed, was worthy of a better end. Vain tears, and mock bewailings were these. He had pursued him through life, the only season we have for showing real kindness to our fellow-man, and now he weeps and bewails over his lifeless and unregardless corse. They might have been, however, tears of joy; for now he had gained the height of his ambition, now he owned the empire of the east without a rival. Alas! what a

miserable creature is man by nature! Tormented with the evil passions of a corrupt nature, he fritters his life away in "seeking rest, and finding none."

After having wept over his body, (whether for joy or sorrow, who can say?) Alexander pulled off his military cloak, and threw it over the loathed object; then causing it to be enbalmed, and the coffin to be adorned with regal magnificence, he sent it to Sisigambis, that it might be interred with the ancient Persian monarchs.

Such was the end of Darius Codomannus. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices to which some of his predecessors had been greatly addicted.

In Darius Codomannus the Persian empire ended, after having existed from the reign of the first Cyrus, under thirteen kings, from B. C. 536 to B. C. 331; dating from the time of the annexation of the Babylonian empire to that of the Medes and Persians. But the dissolution of the empire was not owing to the maladministration of Darius Codomannus; it sprung from causes over which he had little or no control. The seeds of its ruin had been sown in its very origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, of different manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; the Medes were devoted to pomp, luxury, softness, and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which the truly great Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time; but when their arms had prevailed, and all were subdued before them, the fondness which the Medes had for pleasure and magnificence soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became the prevailing taste of the two nations. The conquest of Babylon added to the declension. That "mother of harlots" intoxicated her victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with her pleasures. She furnished them with ministers and instruments adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish voluptuousness with art and delicacy; and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world being at the disposal of their sovereigns, they were enabled to satiate their desires. Cyrus himself contributed to this, without foreseeing the consequences. After his victories, he inspired his subjects with an ad-

miration for pomp and show, which, hitherto, they had been taught to despise as airy trifles. He suggested that magnificence and riches should crown glorious exploits, and be the end and fruit of them; thereby authorizing them to indulge themselves in their naturally corrupt inclinations. He spread the evil farther by compelling the various officers of the empire to appear with splendour before the multitude, the better to represent his own greatness. The consequence of this was, that these officials mistook their ornaments and trappings for the essentials of their employments, while the wealthy proposed them as patterns for imitation, and were soon followed by the different grades of society.

These acts undermined the ancient virtues of the Persians. Scarcely was Cyrus dead, when there arose up as it were another nation, and monarchs of a different genius and character. Instead of the severe education anciently bestowed on the Persian youth, their young men were brought up in splendour and effeminacy; whence they learned to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and the nation became corrupted. In one generation, under this enervating tuition, the Persian character became haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious; and they, of all people under the sun, were the most abandoned to splendour, luxury, feasting, and drunkenness; so that it may be affirmed that the empire of the Persians was almost from its very birth what other empires became through length of ages. Rome sunk under her corruptions, but her decay was imperceptible: the Persian empire exhibited its own ruin almost from its infancy. This character of the Persians in different ages has been aptly compressed by the poet Thomson:

> "——— Persia, sober in extreme,
> Beyond the pitch of man, and thence reversed
> Into luxurious waste."

One great cause of the ruin of the Persian empire, was the carelessness displayed in military discipline, and the substitution of a confused multitude of men, who were impressed for the service from their respective countries. It was only in their mercenaries, the Greeks, that they had any real strength, and their valour was frequently counteracted by the unwieldiness of the Persian hosts, and their lack of a knowledge of military tactics. The younger Cyrus knew the value of the arms of Greece; hence, as soon as the design against his brother's throne was decided, he with great care extended his

connexions among them. The only soldiers, also, in the army of Darius, who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last, were the Greeks.

The monstrous corruptions of the court, or rather of the harem, says Heeren, was another no less powerful cause of the decay of the Persian empire. Every thing was here subject to the influence of the eunuchs, or of the reigning queen, or, still worse, of the queen-mother. It is necessary to have studied, in the court history of Ctesias, the character and violent accusations of an Amytis or Amistris, or still more a Parysatis, to form an adequate idea of the nature of such a harem government. The gratification of the passions, the thirst for revenge, and the impulse of hatred, no less than voluptuousness and pride, were the springs which moved every thing in this corrupted circle: passions which acquire a force in proportion to the narrowness of the circle in which they are exercised. The monarch, enervated with pleasure, instead of governing, is governed by his courtiers. Despotic acts alone, for the most part, denoted, in the last stages of the Persian empire, that he possessed any power in the state. In a word, all was corrupt, and where corruption prevails, ruin follows in the train; for

"Not only vice disposes and prepares
The mind that slumbers sweetly in her snares,
To stoop to tyranny's usurped command
And bend her polished neck beneath his hand;
(A dire effect by one of nature's laws
Unchangeably connected with its cause;)
But Providence himself will intervene
To throw his dark displeasure o'er the scene.
All are his instruments, each form of war,
What burns at home, or threatens from afar:
Nature in arms, her elements at strife,
The storms, that overset the joys of life,
Are but his rods to scourge a guilty land,
And waste it at the bidding of his hand.
He gives the word, and mutiny soon roars
In all her gates, and shakes her distant shores:
The standards of all nations are unfurled;
She has one foe, and that one foe the world.
And if He doom that people with a frown,
And mark them with a seal of wrath pressed down,
Obduracy takes place; callous and tough,
The reprobated race grows judgment proof:
Earth shakes beneath them, and heaven roars above!
But nothing scares them from the course they love:
To the lascivious pipe and wanton song,
That charm down fear, they frolic it along,

With mad rapidity and unconcern,
Down to the gulf, from which is no return.
They trust in navies, and their navies fail,—
God's curse can cast away ten thousand sail.
They trust in armies, and their courage dies;
In wisdom, wealth, in fortune, and in lies;
But all they trust in withers, as it must,
When He commands, in whom they place no trust.
Vengeance at last pours down upon their coast
A long despised, but now victorious host;
Tyranny sends the claim that must abridge
The noble sweep of all their privilege;
Gives liberty the last, the mortal shock:—
Slips the slave's collar on, and snaps the lock."—COWPER.

Long time were the Persians enslaved. They groaned under the Macedo-Grecian dynasty for 102 years, and when that was overturned by the Parthians, they wore the Parthian yoke for 454 more.* At the end of that time, A. D. 225, the Parthians being greatly weakened by their ruinous wars with the Romans, Artaxeres, a gallant Persian, encouraged his countrymen to seize the opportunity of shaking off the yoke, which they did in a battle of three day's continuance, when the enemy were defeated, and Artabanus, king of the Parthians at that time, taken and slain. The Persians, therefore, again appeared on the theatre of human action, and they played their part during 411 years, their monarchs being known as the "Sassanian kings."

* The particulars, during this period, will be found narrated in the histories of the Macedonians, Seleucidæ, and Parthians.

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

ARTAXERES, OR ARDSHIR BEN BABEK, OR BABEGAN.

HISTORIANS differ widely in their account of the family of Artaxeres. The Byzantine authorities represent him as rising to the throne from a mean and spurious origin, while the oriental writers say, that he was the grandson of Sassan, brother of a Persian queen, during the Parthian dominion; and by his mother's side, the grandson of Babek, who was governor of Persia Proper. This latter account is considered by Dr. Hales as the most credible; and hence, he says, Artaxeres assumed the title of Babegan, and the dynasty that of Sassanian.

On the death of his grandfather, Babek, Artaxeres applied to be appointed his successor in the government, but was refused by Ardevan, who was jealous of his merit, and disturbed by a dream, portending the loss of his life and crown. Upon this disappointment, Artaxeres fled to Persepolis, and formed a strong party among the Persian nobility, in conjunction with whom he effected the overthrow of the Parthian empire. On ascending the throne, A. D. 225, he assumed the pompous title of *Shah in Shah*, "King of kings."

Artaxeres was no sooner seated on the throne, than he conceived a design of restoring the Persian empire to its pristine greatness. Accordingly, he gave notice to the Roman governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions that he had an unquestionable title, as the successor of Cyrus, to all the Lesser Asia, which he commanded them to relinquish, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the ancient Parthian kingdom, which were already under his sway. The emperor Alexander Severus who at that time ruled over the Roman

empire, sent letters to Artaxeres, importing that he would show his wisdom if he kept within bounds, and not out of hopes of conquest rekindle war, which might be unsuccessful; that he ought to consider he was to cope with a nation used to war, a nation whose emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Severus, had often vanquished the Parthians.

Artaxeres, regardless of these letters, raised a great army, and attacked the fortified posts of the Romans on the river Euphrates. His conquests over them were so rapid, that Alexander was compelled to raise an army, and to march towards Mesopotamia in order to check his career.

When Artaxeres heard of the approach of the Roman emperor, he was employed in the siege of Nisibis, or Antiochia, which he immediately raised, that he might prepare for the contest. At the same time he sent 400 deputies, gorgeously arrayed, and commissioned, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: "The great king Artaxeres commands the Romans, and their prince, to depart out of all Syria and Asia Minor, and to restore to the Persians all the countries on this side the Ægean and Pontic seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors." These deputies performed their commission; but Alexander, to show his contempt of it, stripped them of their equipage, and sent them into Phrygia, where he assigned them farms to cultivate for their subsistence.

Artaxeres now repaired to Mesopotamia, with a large army, to meet the Roman emperor. An engagement ensued, in which the Romans were victorious. But though Artaxeres was defeated, he was not subdued. He recruited his army, and the Roman emperor having divided his forces into three bodies, he attacked them separately, and though repulsed by one body in Media, he destroyed another, which had invaded his territories, after which the Roman emperor returned to Rome. He entered the city in triumph, and assumed the title of *Parthicus* and *Persicus*.

Artaxeres now employed himself in recovering what he had lost, and in restoring the honour of the Persian name. He ruled with much reputation till his death, which occurred A. D. 240.

Dr. Hales observes that this re-founder of the Persian monarchy was one of the best and greatest of their kings; and that it was his wish to retrieve the ancient glory of the kingdom by a steady adherence to the maxims of the Pischdadians and Kaianians in politics and religion. He com-

posed a book for the use of the entire body of his subjects, entitled, "Rules for living well," from which, etc., the following wise political maxims are derived, as paraphrased from Herbelot.

1. When a king applies himself to render justice, the people are eager to render him obedience.

2. Of all princes, the worst is he whom the good fear, and from whom the bad hope.

3. All the branches of a community are inseparably connected with each other, and with the trunk; hence kings and subjects have reciprocal cares and duties; which, if neglected on either side, produce ruin and confusion to both.

4. He felt so much the danger of his high station, from self-deception, that he appointed one of his courtiers to examine him every morning, as his confessor, and to require an account of all that he had said or done the preceding day.

5. The royal authority cannot be supported without troops, nor troops without taxes, nor taxes without culture of the lands, nor this culture without justice well administered, and a police well regulated.

6. By the assistance of a council of seven sages, he abolished the superstition and idolatry that had been introduced under the Macedo-Grecian and Parthian dynasties, and revived the reformed religion of Darius Hystaspes: hence he proclaimed throughout the empire, that "he had taken away the sword of Aristotle, the philosopher, which had devoured the nation for 500 years;" meaning the civil and religious innovations of Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, which had prevailed during that period.

Artaxeres was succeeded in his kingdom by

SHABOUR, OR SAPOR,

his son, a prince whose nature was fierce and untractable; and who was covetous of glory, haughty, insolent, and cruel.

Shabour was no sooner seated on the throne, than he meditated a war with the Romans. He was abetted in his designs by the traitor Cyriades, the son of a commander of the same name in the Roman army. In conjunction with Odomastes, a Persian general, Cyriades wasted the adjacent provinces, and having at length prevailed upon the king himself to take the field, he, with a number of deserters, who, for the sake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of Antioch and Cesarea Philippi, of which cities they possessed them-

selves. Upon the conquest of these cities, Cyriades took the title of Cesar, and afterwards of emperor.

Provoked by these proceedings, Gordian, then emperor of Rome, resolved to carry his arms into the east, for the double purpose of chastising Cyriades, and checking the Persian power. With this view, he marched into Syria at the head of a numerous army, and he chased Shabour into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking Charra, or Haran, in Mesopotamia. He was preparing to push his conquest still further, when he was murdered by the treachery of Philip, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law.

Philip, having possessed himself of the sovereign authority, made peace with Sapor, and abandoned Mesopotamia and Armenia to him again. The senate, however, disapproving of his conduct, regardless of the treaty, he recovered part of these provinces, and then, leaving troops to secure the frontiers, he marched back into Italy.

As soon as the Roman forces were withdrawn, Sapor and Cyriades renewed their incursions; and the latter growing stronger and stronger, began to be treated as an emperor. The affairs of Rome were in such a sinking condition, that many of its provinces took shelter, out of necessity, under his protection. At length, however, Valerian, though advanced to the empire at a great age, took measures to reduce the numerous provinces to obedience. He carried his arms victoriously westward and northward, and there was every prospect of uniting them all again under the Roman sway. But while he was thus engaged, Sapor, with a formidable army, invaded the Roman territories, burned and pillaged the country, and at length advanced as far as Edessa, to which he laid siege. Valerian hastened to its relief, and necessary steps were taken for compelling the Persians to retreat. A mutiny of the soldiers of Cyriades, who put him to death, added to the power of Valerian, for whom they declared. Sapor, however, resolved to venture a battle, and an action took place before Edessa, in which Valerian was made prisoner, A. D. 268.

According to the Byzantine historians, Sapor used his fortune with an insolence the people could not endure. Instigated by despair, they first, under the command of Callistus, and afterwards under that of Odenatus, prince of Palmyrene, protected themselves for some time from his insults, and finally compelled him to retire into his own dominions.

In his march, Sapor is said to have made use of the bodies

of his prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passages of his carriages over rivers. On his return, he was solicited by the kings of the Cadusians, Armenians, Bactrians, and other nations, to set the aged Valerian free; but this only increased his cruelty towards him. He used him with the most shameful indignity, mounting on horseback from his neck as a footstool; and, to crown all, after several years' imprisonment, he caused him to be flayed alive.

After his return, the affairs of Sapor were straitened. Flushed with victory, Odenatus, clothed with the character of president over the Roman provinces in the east, not only checked the progress of the Persian arms, but caused that people terror in their own country. Twice did this general advance as far as the city of Ctesiphon; and when he died, the celebrated Zenobia, his wife, continued successfully to oppose the Persians, till she was conquered and made prisoner by the emperor Aurelian, who appeared to vindicate the honour of the Romans on this side of the empire. Aurelian also took ample vengeance on Sapor, for his ill-treatment of Valerian. He carried away many prisoners and much spoil from the Persians, with which he graced his triumphs at Rome. Notwithstanding, Sapor continued to enlarge his dominions at the expense of his barbarous neighbors till his death, which occurred A. D. 271.

Although Sapor was cruel and vindictive towards his enemies, according to Persian historians, he was liberal and munificent to his friends, and attentive to the welfare of his subjects, and the improvement of his kingdom in the construction of public works, such as cities, aqueducts, etc. Mirkhond says that his administration of justice was so rigid, that some of his rapacious courtiers were alarmed, and set fire to his tent during a stormy night, that it might be thought to have been occasioned by lightning.

In the reign of Sapor, the famous Mani* or Manes, the founder of the Manichæan heresy, flourished, and he is said to have favoured him, and to have built for him, on the borders of the province of Susiana, a place of retreat called Das-

* Archbishop Usher has shown that Mani in Persian, Manes in Greek, and Menachem in Hebrew, mean precisely the same, namely, "a comforter." His followers adduce this as a proof that he was the Paraclete, or Comforter promised by the Saviour, a pretension to which he laid claim. This explains the reason why the Manichees rejected the Acts of the Apostles: the account of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, completely destroyed such pretensions.

carah. This was only, however, while he acted the part of a philosopher; when Mani attempted to reconcile his philosophy with Christianity, or to mix the gospel with some of his national superstitions, and thereby to frame a new system of religion, which he hoped to propagate among both infidels and Christians, Sapor, who was averse to any innovations in the national religion, persecuted him, and obliged him to flee for his life.

The errors of the Manichæans were some of the most pernicious that have ever been promulgated. Mani pretended to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, and a prophet illuminated by the Holy Spirit, to reform all religions, and to reveal truths which the Saviour had not thought proper to reveal to his disciples. To carry out this imposture, he chose twelve apostles, whom he sent forth to preach his doctrines. His doctrines, says Neumann, his symbolical language, and in particular, the division of his followers into laymen, *auditores*, and priests, *electi*, and the different duties prescribed to each of them, seem to be verbally copied from Buddhism. His boast was, that he had obtained a perfect knowledge of all things, and that he had banished mysteries from religion. He professed to teach every thing by demonstration, and the knowledge of God, by the light of reason. But never yet has the world by wisdom known God, 1 Cor. i. 21. When reason, says an excellent writer, has tired and bewildered herself in searching after God, the result must be *non est inventus*, that is, He is not to be found by me. Faith may look upon him, and that with comfort, but for unassisted reason to gaze too much upon him is the way to lose her sight

HORMOUZ, OR HORMISDAS.

This prince was the son of Sapor, whom he succeeded on the throne. During his reign, which continued only for about the brief space of one year, nothing of political interest occurred. By Persians historians he was called *Al Horri*, "the liberal;" and they say that he was beloved by his subjects. An instance of his liberality is on record. The governor of Ormus, on the Persian Gulf, having purchased for him some diamonds for 100,000 pieces of gold, informed him, that if he did not choose to keep them, he might dispose of them at double the cost; or, in other words, might gain cent. per cent. profit. Hormisdas replied, "To me a hundred or a thousand per cent. is nothing. But if I meddle in merchan-

dize, who will undertake the functions of the king? and what will become of the merchants?"

The following saying is attributed to Hormisdas: "Princes are like fire, which burns those that approach too near; but greatly serves those that keep at a proper distance." A wiser saying than this is attributed to his successor: "Humanity cannot be defined, because it comprehends all the virtues." Well would it have been for the world had all its princes thought thus, and acted in the spirit of the maxim. Nature has formed man, more than any other living creature, for the exercise of the virtues of sympathy; and he lays violent hands upon his own feelings, who acts with cruelty towards his species. The act is accompanied with its own punishment.

> "——— Man is dear to man; the poorest poor
> Long for some moments, in a weary life,
> When they can know, and feel that they have been
> Themselves the fathers, and the dealers out
> Of some small blessings: have been kind to such
> As needed kindness, for this single cause
> That we have all of us one heart."—Wordsworth.

Hormisdas was succeeded in his kingdom by

VARANES I., OR BAHARAM I.,

of whom very little more is known, than that he reigned three years. Persian historians say that he reigned with great applause; and that his death, which was caused by treachery, as he was endeavoring to allay a tumult, was a great grief and loss to his subjects.

During the reign of Varanes, the Romans, under the command of Saturninus, kept the Persians within their limits. He was succeeded on the throne by his son,

VARANES II., OR BAHARAM II.

This prince, at the commencement of his reign, acted with such haughtiness and cruelty, that the people gave him the surname of *Khalef*, that is, "unjust." Hence they contemplated his dethronement; but the magi undertook his reformation: and they did this with such warmth, and such evident loyalty, that Baharam listened to their sage admonitions, and became an excellent prince.

> "The way of a fool is right in his own eyes:
> But he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise."—*Prov.* xii. 15.

The most remarkable act of the reign of Varanes, says Sir J. Malcolm, was the execution of the celebrated Mani, about A. D. 277, who returned during his reign into Persia. At first Varanes showed a disposition to embrace his faith, though most authors contend that this was a mere pretext to lull Mani and his followers into a fatal security. The result would seem to confirm this opinion; for Mani and almost all his disciples were slain by his order.

Varanes contemplated war with the Romans; but his resolution was shaken by the activity and prowess of the Roman emperor Probus, which induced him to seek peace. This was granted, and internal discords prevented the Romans from carrying into effect their after intentions of re-invading Persia; so that Varanes may be said to have reigned in peace. The duration of his reign, according to both Greek and Persian writers, was seventeen years. He died, A. D. 292; and

VARANES III., OR BAHARAM III.

his son, ascended the throne. This prince reigned only four months; and, according to both oriental and Greek historians, did nothing worthy of notice. To him succeeded

NARSES, OR NARSI.

This prince, acting in the spirit of Artaxeres, sought the reduction of all the Persian provinces, held either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the Romans. The state of the Roman empire seemed to favour his designs; for war was raging in every part. Narses, with a large army, invaded Mesopotamia, and in a short time recovered most of the places which had belonged to his ancestors. At this time Diocletian and Galerius reigned conjointly at Rome, under the denomination of the two Cesars. The latter took the field against Narses, and in two battles near Antioch defeated him. Galerius passed the river Tigris, and advanced into the very heart of the king's dominions; but abating his care and circumspection, Narses fell suddenly upon the Roman army, and they were totally defeated. Galerius himself escaped with difficulty, to tell the tidings at Rome. He was at first received coldly by Diocletian, but, by his importunities, he was entrusted with another army against the Persians. He took a terrible revenge. Adding prudence to fortitude, like Narses, he watched his opportunity, and stole upon the Persian army

unawares, whereby he gained a complete victory. Narses himself was wounded, and forced to flee, with a small remnant of his army, into the mountains. His treasures and papers, as also his sister, queen, concubines, and children, with many nobles, fell into the hands of Galerius. It was in vain that Narses endeavored to retrieve his misfortunes; no fresh army could be collected; and the victorious Romans being shortly after joined by Diocletian, he consented to surrender the five provinces west of the Tigris; on which condition, peace was granted him, and his queen restored. The other prisoners were retained to grace a triumph at Rome. These accumulated misfortunes broke the heart of Narses, A. D. 300, after he had reigned seven years. He was succeeded by his son

MISDATES, OR HORMOUZ.

According to oriental historians, this prince was eminent for his justice. When he saw that the rich oppressed the poor, he established a court of justice for the redress of the latter; and he frequently presided himself, to keep the judges in awe. Misdates likewise devised many new laws and regulations for the encouragement of trade; whence he was careful of the maritime coasts and ports of Persia. He is said to have extended his dominions considerably, but the particulars are not related. His reign was brief, continuing only seven years. When he was dying, the infant, of whom the queen was pregnant, was elected his successor; the magi having prognosticated that it would be a son. He was called "Schabour Doulaktaf,"* that is, one upon "whose shoulder the government devolved before his birth;" an eastern form of expression, which recalls to memory a reference to the Messiah, (see Isa. ix. 6,) signifying his royal power, as King of kings.

SAPOR II., OR SCHABOUR DOULAKTAF.

During the minority of Sapor, the Persians were exposed to many disasters, and especially to the ravages of the Arabs, who, leaving their arid plains on the southern shores of the Gulf, entered Persia in vast numbers, spread desolation where-

* Some authors interpret this word, "Lord of the shoulders," and say, that the name was derived from his manner of chastising the Arab tribes, which was to pierce the shoulders of his captives, and then to dislocate them by a string passed through them.

ever they came, and carried off the sister of the late king Hormouz, and the aunt of Schabour, into captivity. When Sapor came of age, he resolved to revenge these injuries. He put their king to death, and treated the inhabitants of Yemen, or Arabia with great cruelty. Oriental historians say, that he was chiefly induced to act thus by the advice of his astrologers, who asserted that some one of their nation would, in future subvert the Persian empire. Malek ben Nasser, an ancestor of Mohammed, their ambassador, remonstrated with Sapor, and suggested that either the prediction might be false, or that, if true, his cruelties would only provoke the Arabs to retaliate. This caused him to reflect, and he afterwards treated the Arabs so kindly, that they called him *Doulaknaf*, "on the wings," or their protector; from the eagles carrying their young on the wings. This was a lovely character, and one which reminds us of the reference to Jehovah in the Hebrew Scriptures, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11, 12, and to the Saviour in the Gospels, Matt. xxiii. 37.

Sapor was a zealous supporter of the honour of the Persian diadem, and pursued steadily that policy which Artaxeres had adopted, namely, that of uniting all the territories of the ancient Persian kings under his sway. In pursuing this plan, however, his measures were different from those of his predecessors. Instead of waging war himself, he encouraged the barbarians dwelling on the frontiers of the Roman provinces to ravage and harass them. This he did openly, when the Romans were in confusion, and covertly, when they were free from internal alarm. After this, he extended his dominions eastward and northward, increased his revenues by encouraging trade and commerce, disciplined his troops, and effected a profound veneration for the civil and religious institutions of his country.

At the instigation of the magi, Sapor persecuted both the Jews and Christians; the former as evil-minded subjects, and avowed enemies of their religion; and the latter, as being attached to Constantine the Great, after his profession of Christianity. The power of Constantine was too great for Sapor to attack him openly; he therefore sent an embassy to Constantinople, to compliment that prince, and to renew the peace which had recently subsisted between the two empires. This was the avowed object of the embassy; but they had secret orders to inquire into the strength of the Romans, and to purchase arms, of which he stood in need. Constantine was informed of the designs of Sapor; but he received his minis-

ters, graciously, granted their requests, and, at their return, charged them with a letter for Sapor.

The purport of this letter was, to intercede for the Christians. In it the emperor gave a brief account of his faith; then of his success and grandeur, which he attributed wholly to the Divine blessing. He afterwards expatiated on the odious folly of idolatry, but without alluding to the circumstance of Sapor's being an idolater. He next pathetically represented the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, instancing Valerian, whom he asserted to have been happy in all his undertakings, until he became a persecutor of the Christians. Finally, he recommended the Christians to the favour of Sapor, and besought him, for his sake, to look upon them as good and loyal subjects. This letter appears to have had a good effect, for Sapor afterwards treated the Christians with less severity.

But Sapor still adhered to the plan of raising himself and his successors to the empire of the east. After he had made sufficient preparations, he acquainted Constantine with his intentions, transmitting to him a letter, wherein he claimed all the dominions anciently belonging to the Persian emperors; and affirmed that the river Strymon was the legal boundary of his empire. His letter read thus: "I have re-assembled my numerous army. I am resolved to avenge my subjects, who have been plundered, made captives, and slain. It is for this that I have bared my arm, and girded my loins. If you consent to pay the price of the blood which has been shed, to deliver up the booty which has been plundered, and to restore the city of Nisibis, which is in Irak, (Arabi,) and belongs to our empire, though now in your possession, I will sheath the sword of war; but should you refuse these terms, the hoofs of my horses, which are hard as steel, shall efface the name of the Romans from the earth; and my glorious scimitar, that destroys like fire, shall exterminate the people of your empire.

Constantine returned Sapor a letter replete with dignity and resolution; and though he was now advanced in years, he prepared for war. But just as he was on the point of commencing his march for the eastern provinces, he was removed from this world of strife.

Upon the death of Constantine, Sapor, taking advantage of the dissensions that ensued in the Roman empire, entered their provinces, and re-annexed to his dominions the parts which his ancestors had lost. Many years were occupied in

this struggle, and with various successes and reverses of fortune. In pitched battles, as at Siugara, and in the defence of fortresses, as at Nisibiu, the Romans usually had the advantage, but in rapid marches, equestrian skirmishes and surprises, the Persians triumphed.

All this happened during the reign of Constans, who had succeeded Constantine in the empire of the Romans, and in the early part of the reign of Julian, his successor. At length the last mentioned emperor, contrary to the sage advice of Hormisdas, a Persian general on the side of the Romans, advanced too far into the country, and being already half conquered by thirst and famine, his army was destroyed by Sapor, and himself slain. A peace was now concluded with the Romans on advantageous terms. Jovian, the successor of Julian, ceded the five provinces in dispute for ever to the Persians, together with the strong fortress of Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, which had so long been the bulwark of the eastern boundary of the Roman empire. This peace was concluded, A. D. 363.

Sapor now turned his attention to that part of his empire which was bounded by Tartary and India. He was thus occupied for some time; but Jovian, the Roman emperor, dying, and the affairs of the people being again embarrassed, regardless of the peace subsisting between the two empires, he again invaded the Roman territories. The particulars of this invasion have not been handed down to us. All we know is that he slew Arsaces, who reigned in Armenia, and reduced a large territory under his obedience; that on the arrival of Arinthius, he was constrained to abandon a great part of his conquests; that upon this he transferred the imperial seat to Ctesiphon, the old capital of the Parthian empire, that he might improve such opportunities as might offer; and that after this act he did not gain any great victory.

The restless and ambitious Sapor ended his days in the beginning of the reign of the Roman emperor Gratian, about A. D. 375, or 377, after having reigned seventy or seventy-two years (for authors differ on this point) with great variety of fortune; a variety that might have taught him the folly of pursuing the honours and possessions of this changing world. He seems by no means to have lacked wisdom. Some of his observations have been preserved, which exhibit a knowledge of the human mind. "Words," he used to say, "may be more vivifying than the showers of spring, and sharper than the sword of destruction. The point of a lance may be drawn

from the body; but a cruel word can never be extracted from the heart it has wounded."

Sapor was succeeded in his kingdom by

ARTAXERXES, OR ARDSCHIR,

concerning whose origin and life nothing is recorded, save that he maintained peace with the Romans, and governed his dominions four years.

To him succeeded

SAPOR III., OR SCHABOUR BEN SCHABOUR,

who governed the kingdom of Persia for five years in great tranquillity. He was contemporary with Theodosius the Great, whose friendship he enjoyed during his reign. Persian writers say that he was killed by the fall of his tent; the cordage was broken by a whirlwind,* and the pole struck the monarch while he slept. Sapor III. was succeeded by his brother

VARANES IV., OR KERMAN SCHAH,

who was so denominated from his having been ruler of the province of Kerman, the ancient Carmania. Varanes governed the kingdom of Persia eleven years, during which no event of importance occurred. Internal revolts seem only to have disturbed his peace. These were frequently dangerous, and he was eventually killed by an arrow, when endeavouring to quell a tumult in his army.

The throne of Persia was next filled by

ISDEGERTES, OR JEZDEGARD AL ATHIM.

The Character of Isdegertes is differently given by the Byzantine and Persian historians. By the latter he is represented as a monster of cruelty, whose death was hailed as a blessing by his subjects, while the former represent him as a monarch deservedly renowned for his many virtues. Both accounts, says Dr. Hales, are overcharged, and we may ascribe each to his partiality for the Christians, whom he, first of all the Persian monarchs, favoured and protected.

* These violent gusts are common in Persia. Malcolm says, that he has seen a whole line of tents levelled by their force, and some of them carried to a distance from the spot where they were pitched.

Procopius and Cedrenus relate, that the emperor Arcadius left Isdegertes guardian of his son Theodosius II., and protector of the Roman empire, a trust that he faithfully discharged. The Greek writers also relate, that during his reign, for twenty-one years, he lived in the utmost harmony with Theodosius. This fully vindicates the character of this prince from the calumnies of the Persian priesthood, who practised several pious frauds upon him, for which he ordered the magi to be decimated; allowed the Christians to build churches throughout his dominions; and repealed the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors. It was doubtless this indulgence and toleration that extended the fame of Isdegertes among strangers, and caused it to be handed down with execration by the priesthood of his own country. They themselves, however, have preserved some of his sayings, breathing a spirit that contradicts the character they have given him. He often remarked, say they, "That the wisest of monarchs was he who never punished when in a rage, and who followed the first impulse of his mind to reward the deserving." He used also to observe: "That whenever a king ceased to do good actions, he neccessarily committed bad; and that the thought of eternity could not for a moment be absent from the mind, without its verging towards sin." Such sentiments as these are worthy even of a Christian philosopher.

At the death of Isdegertes, A. D. 418, the magi, through hatred to him set up Kesra, a nobleman, in opposition to his son Baharam Gour, or Jur,* who was then abroad, educating by an Arab prince. By the assistance of the Arabs, however, Baharam raised an army to recover his crown, which he did almost without a struggle.

VARANES V., OR BAHARAM GOUR, OR JUR.

The first action of Baharam was to reward Noman, who had educated him; his second, to pardon those who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. Such gratitude and clemency disposed the hearts of all his subjects towards this prince; and his munificence, virtue, and valour, are the theme of every historian. His generosity was not limited to his court or capital, but extended over all his dominions. So unbounded was his liberality, that his minister, dreading the ef-

* This surname was derived from his fondness for hunting the jur, or wild ass.

fects of its excess, presented a memorial to him, pointing out how essential the possession of treasure was to support the throne. Baharam wrote under this representation, "If I may not employ benefits and rewards to gain the hearts of free men who render me their obedience, let the framers of this memorial inform me what means I am to use for attaching such persons to my government."

Under Baharam, it is said, minstrels and musicians were first introduced into Persia, from India. Sir J. Malcolm says that this circumstance, with others of a similar nature, produced an impression among foreign powers that the king and his subjects were immersed in luxury; and that the love of the dance and song had superseded that martial spirit, which had so lately rendered Persia the terror of surrounding nations.

The king of Turan, or Turkistan, acting under this impression, invaded Persia. He crossed the Oxus at the head of a large army, and laid waste the whole of Khorassan. This invasion spread a dismay which was greatly increased by the disappearance of Baharam, who it was concluded had fled from a sense of inability to meet the impending storm. The result of this was, the universal terror of the Persians, and the unguarded confidence of the Tartars. "The great king," conceived the war was over, and that he had only to receive the submission of the Persian chiefs, who daily crowded to his standard to implore his favour and protection. Baharam, however, was not lost: fetching a compass round by the coast of the Caspian Sea, he gained the important pass of Khuarasme, in the rear of the Turks; and while the invading host was buried in wine and sleep, he fell upon them with seven thousand of the bravest warriors of Persia, and put them to flight. The slaughter was great: the chief of the enemy fell under the sword of Baharam, who pursued the fugitives across the Oxus.

The use Baharam made of this victory was, to establish peace with all his neighbours, after which he returned to his capital.

The Persians relate a romantic tale about the adventures of Baharam in India; and they assert that, after his return, he was very successful in some incursions into the Arabian and Roman territories, carrying his arms into the latter, almost to the gates of Constantinople. In this latter assertion, however, their flattery has misled them, as the reader will perceive from the following account of the war, as derived from Greek historians.

The cause of the war between Baharam and Theodosius was twofold.

1. Abdas, the Persian prelate, with unwarrantable zeal, had burned a fire temple to the ground. Baharam, who had a great respect for him, gently reproved him, and commanded him to rebuild it. This he refused to do; and at the instigation of the magi, the king put him to death, demolished the churches, and confiscated the estates of the nobles who would not recant. Numbers fled, during this persecution, for protection to Theodosius, who espoused their cause.

2. Theodosius, in the days of Isdegertes, had lent a certain number of miners to that prince, to work anew some neglected gold and silver mines in Persia. These miners he now required, and Baharam refused to send them back.

It was from these two causes that the war between the Romans and Persians, at this date, arose. Fired with indignation, Theodosius took up arms, and Baharam followed the example. The contest was attended with no success of any great consequence to either. Alternate victory and defeat made up the whole sum of it; and it ended in a truce for 100 years, in which it was agreed that an end should be put to the severities exercised upon the Christians.

A noble Christian action, however, contributed, more than the peace between the two empires, to the re-establishment of Christianity in Persia. When the province of Azazene was ravaged by the Romans, in the beginning of the war, 7000 Persian prisoners were brought to the city of Amida in extreme misery. Acases, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them in pathetic terms the misery of these unhappy creatures. He then represented that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, he would be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than by being served with gold and silver vessels in their churches. The suggestion was adopted: all the consecrated plate of gold and silver vessels were sold for the maintenance of their enemies, and they were sent home at the conclusion of the war with money to defray their expenses on the road. Baharam was so struck with this act, that he invited the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and granted the Christians many favours at his request. Thus, by heaping "coals of fire" upon the head of this high-minded prince, says Dr. Hales, did these Christian miners melt his heart to mutual compassion and kindness, verifying St. Paul's precept,

Rom. xii. 20, 21. This is the true genius of the ever blessed gospel of Christ.

After this, Baharam enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and having reigned twenty-three years, he died, beloved and honoured by his subjects, A. D. 441.

Baharam was one of the best monarchs that ever ruled Persia. During his whole reign, the happiness of his subjects was his sole object, his persecution of the Christians excepted. Ill-timed zeal on the part of Abdas led him into the crime, and overwhelmed the Christians with sorrow. A good man's zeal should be ever on the wing; but it should be united with discernment and prudence, or it will be blind and extravagant, and injure the cause it intends to advance. To be genuine, zeal must be free from a persecuting spirit.

Baharam was succeeded by his son

VARANES VI., OR JEZDEGERD BEN BAHARAM.

Varanes VI., is represented as a wise and brave prince, who took the best means of ensuring the prosperity of his empire, by retaining the favourite ministers and officers of his father, while he himself carefully attended to business. Varanes was particularly strict in the administration of equal and impartial justice. He restored the ancient regulations that had fallen into disuse, and framed new laws by the advice of his council. He likewise kept up discipline in his army without severity, and never punished but with reluctance, whence he was called *Siphadost*, "a lover of his soldiers."

According to the Persian historians, Varanes broke the peace, and waged war with the Romans; but this is not probable, for the Greek annals make no further mention of him than that he was contemporary with Theodosius II. and his successor Martianus.

By some Persian writers the character of Varanes is represented as unchaste, avaricious, and cruel: they style him Aitam, which has reference to violation, pillage, and massacre. This may have arisen from their displeasure at his countenancing Christianity, which, by the preaching of Manetha, bishop of Diarbekr, in Mesopotamia, and his coadjutors, made great progress in his dominions during his reign.

Varanes died A. D. 459, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son

PEROSES, OR FIROUZ.

Varanes had two sons, Firouz and Hormouz. His wish

was, that Hormouz, the younger, should succeed him; and for this purpose he sent away Peroses to be governor of Nimrouz,* including Sigistan and Makran. Accordingly, upon his father's death, Hormouz assumed the throne, and was supported by the nobility; but Firouz engaged the Haiathelites, or White Huns, an Indo-Scythian tribe, who bordered on his provinces, to assist him in the recovery of his right, promising their king, Khoosh-Nuaz, the province of Nimrouz, as a recompense. With these auxiliaries, and some of the Persians who espoused his cause, Peroses invaded Persia, defeated his brother Hormouz, and put him to death.

In the beginning of the reign of Peroses, there was a dreadful drought of six years' continuance, which was interpreted, in that superstitious age, as a punishment from Heaven for the crime of acting contrary to the will of the virtuous Varanes. According to the Tubree, this drought was so excessive, that not even the appearance of moisture was left in the beds of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

In the seventh year, plenty was restored; and the first act of Peroses, after this national scourge, was to invade the country of the Haiathelites, his benefactors. The great object of his life, indeed, appears to have been to destroy the power of the generous monarch to whom he owed his throne. He pretended to discover, from the evidence of some Tartar exiles, that their king was a tyrant; and with the pretext of relieving his subjects from his yoke, he invaded Tartary. Khoosh-Nuaz was too weak to oppose the Persian forces, and he therefore retreated as they advanced; but he was soon enabled, by the devotion of one of his chief officers, not only to preserve his country, but to destroy his foes. This officer, after communicating the plan he had formed, entreated his prince to order the mutilation of his body, and then to cast him in the route of the Persian soldiers. This was done; and he was taken up, and carried to Peroses, who asked him who had reduced him to this sad condition. "That cruel tyrant, Khoosh-Nuaz," was the answer; and being interrogated for

* Nimrouz is part of the modern Seistan. The Persians, says Malcolm, have a tradition that this country was formerly covered with a lake, which was drained by some genii in half a day, whence the name of Nimrouz, or half-day; but as Nimrouz means also mid-day, it is probably used metaphorically in the Persian, as in French, German, and several other languages to designate the south; and this province lies directly south of Bulkh, the ancient capital of Persia.

what the deed was done, he replied, "Because I took the liberty as an old and faithful servant, to represent the consequences of his bad government, and to tell him how unequal he was to meet the troops of Persia, conducted by such a hero as Peroses. But I will be revenged," he added, as he writhed with pain; "I will lead you by a short route, where you shall, in a few days, intercept the tyrant's retreat, defeat his army, and rid the world of a monster." Peroses believed the tale, and the Persian army marched according to his directions. It was not until they had been several days without water, and famine was raging among their ranks, and they saw themselves surrounded by enemies from whom they had no hopes of escape, that they discovered that they had been led to ruin, and that the conquest over them had been effected by one, who had courted death to obtain the title of "The preserver of his country."

The greatest part of the Persian army perished in this desert, and Peroses was only permitted to return with the survivors through the clemency of Khoosh-Nuaz, to whom he sent to solicit peace, and with whom he entered into a solemn covenant never to invade his territories again.

But Peroses was tormented by the thought of the degradation he had suffered. The generosity of his enemy was also hateful, as it made his own conduct appear more base and inexcusable. Hence, no sooner was he extricated from his difficulties, than, in violation of his oath, he collected an army, delivered over his kingdom to a regent, (who, the Greeks say, was his brother,) and once more crossed the Oxus, resolved to conquer or perish.

Peroses perished. The Haiathelites having timely notice of his intention, prepared to meet him. Concealing their forces behind some mountains, they issued forth suddenly on all sides of the Persian army, and totally routed it.* Almost all the soldiers of which it was composed were either slain or taken prisoners, and Peroses himself perished, after he had worn the Persian diadem for twenty years. Such was the

* Some of the oriental writers say, that the army was taken by a stratagem. They dug, say they, a large dyke in the middle of a plain, and after having covered it over, they entrapped the Persian army into it. But this must be looked upon as romance; for to have dug a pit of sufficient dimensions for such a purpose, they must have reared up a mountain with the earth, which would have told the tale, and have made the Persians look well to their feet.

reward of ingratitude, a vice never mentioned by any heathen writer but with particular marks of detestation; among Christians it should be doubly abhorred.

The faithless Peroses was succeeded by his son

VALENS, OR BALASCH BEN FIROUZ,

who proved to be an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, and just, and desirous of lessening the misery of his country, which, at the death of Peroses, was rendered tributary to Khoosh-Nuaz. He paid the tribute for two years, and waged war with the Haiathelites two more, when, worn out with cares, he died. He was succeeded by his brother

CAVADES, OR COBAD,

who was of a martial and enterprizing disposition; ready to undertake any thing for the extension of his kingdom, and jealous to the last degree of his authority, and the glory of the Persian name.

In the tenth year of the reign of Cobad, Mazdak, an impostor, appeared in the desert, who set up for a prophet, and pretended to introduce a purer religion than had hitherto been revealed to mankind.* Cobad sanctioned the impostor and his enormities, which struck at the root of chastity and property. This produced an insurrection, in which the Persian nobles dethroned Cobad, and imprisoned him, appointing Giamasp, a person of great wisdom and integrity, king in his stead. Some time after, however, Cobad contrived to escape from prison, to the king of the Haiathelites, with whom it would appear he had made peace in the days of his prosperity, who assisted him with an army to recover his kingdom, which he accomplished: he deposed Giamasp, and put out his eyes.

As soon as Cobad was restored to the throne, he embarked in a war with the Romans, to repay the king of the Haiathelites large sums of money which he had borrowed, and for the charges of the expedition to restore him. He marched rapidly into Armenia, raised excessive contributions from the inhabitants, and then laid siege to Armida, the principal fortress in those quarters. As the province had for many years

* Mazdak attempted to revive the system of Mani, with some additions of his own, very far from tending to purity of heart.

enjoyed profound peace, the city was unprepared for the attack; the citizens, however, refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. He took it after eighty days, and the citizens were only saved from destruction by a well-timed though flattering compliment, from one of their number. Cobad having asked him why they treated him as an enemy? "Because," said the citizen, "it was the will of God to deliver Amida not to your power, but to your valour." Pleased with this reply, Cobad spared their lives, and some time afterwards he restored their privileges, and directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired. He left therein Glones, a Persian nobleman, with a garrison of 1000 men, and treated it rather as a benefactor than a conqueror.

The tidings of these proceedings at length reached Rome, and an army was immediately marched to the frontiers, under the command of Ariobindus. Greek writers say, that there never were better forces sent against the Persians than these, or men of greater reputation. In two battles, however, through the neglect of the commander, they were almost entirely destroyed. The only execution they did, was the destruction of a detachment of Haiathelites, whom they found alone on the banks of a river, the streams of which were dyed with their blood.

Cobad had scarcely gained his second victory over the Romans, when he was informed that the Huns had broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was compelled to return into Persia, whence he expelled the invaders.

After the departure of Cobad, the Romans, in several bodies, surrounded Armida, in order to prevent the garrison from receiving provisions. They also devised means to betray Glones, the Persian commander, into an ambuscade, in which he perished, with 200 of his forces. The garrison was eventually compelled to capitulate; and some time after, a truce for seven years was concluded between the Romans and Persians, and hostages on both sides were given for its due observance. A lasting peace was afterwards negotiated in the days of Justin, but this failed; and in the days of Justinian, a new war broke out between the two empires, in which the Persian army, under Peroses, was defeated by Belisarius in Mesopotamia; and Mermores, who commanded the Persian forces in Armenia, was twice defeated by Doritheus. Two castles, with the dependencies, fell also under

the power of the Romans. But Cobad still kept the field. He raised new armies, which defeated Belisarius, and invested the city of Martyropolis, a place of the last importance to the Roman empire. The city was saved by intrigue, and a truce was soon afterwards concluded between the two empires.

During the last years of his life, Cobad also carried on a war with the Haiathelites, with varied success. He died, A. D. 532, after a long and diversified reign of forty-nine years, including the period in which he was imprisoned, for which Dr. Hales allows eight years.

Cobad left several sons; but he always appears to have shown a decided preference for Chosroes, or Nouschirvan, who seems in every respect to have been worthy of his father's favour. At his death, Cobad bequeathed his kingdom to Chosroes, and the testament was committed to the principal *mobud*, or high priest, by whom it was read to the assembled nobles of the empire. These declared their cheerful submission to the will of the deceased monarch; but Chosroes refused the proffered diadem, on the ground of his inability to reform the great abuses of the government. "All the principal offices," he exclaimed, "are filled by worthless and despicable men; and who, in such days, would make a vain attempt to govern this kingdom according to principles of wisdom and justice? If I do my duty, I must make great changes, the result of which may be bloodshed; my sentiments toward many of you would perhaps alter; and families, which I now regard, would be ruined. I have no desire to be engaged in such scenes of strife and ruin; they are neither suited to my inclination nor my character, and I must avoid them." The assembly assented to the justice of these observations; and convinced, for the moment, that a reform was requisite, they took an oath to support him in his measures, to obey his directions implicitly, and to devote their persons and property to his service and that of their country; upon which he ascended the throne.

CHOSROES, OR NOUSCHIRVAN.

When Chosroes ascended the throne, he assembled his court, and addressed them as follows: "The authority which I derive from my office is established over your persons, not over your hearts: God alone can penetrate into the secret thoughts of men. I desire that you should understand from this, that my vigilance and control can extend only over your

actions, not over your consciences: my judgments shall always be founded on the principles of justice, not on the dictates of will or caprice: and when, by such a proceeding, I shall have remedied the evils which have crept into the state, the empire will be powerful, and I shall merit the applause of posterity."

Acting upon this spirit of toleration, it is said that, in the commencement of his reign, he temporized with the followers of Mazdak. At length, however, he caused that licentious and false prophet to be apprehended, and sentenced to death; declaring his determined resolution to extirpate the followers of this pestilent heresy, the fundamental principle of which was, the annihilation of property, and its result, anarchy.

There are several reasons given for this act of severity. The most probable, because most consonant with the character of the monarch, is, that one of his subjects complained to him of his wife having been taken from him by a disciple of Mazdak. The king desired the false prophet to command his follower to restore the woman; but the mandate of the earthly monarch was treated with scorn and contempt, when its effect was contrary to what was deemed a sacred precept. Chosroes, enraged at this opposition to his authority, ordered the execution of Mazdak, which was followed by the destruction of many of his followers, and the proscription of his delusive and abominable tenets.

Chosroes was indefatigable in his endeavour to promote the prosperity of his dominions. One of his first acts was, to disgrace the public officers who had been obnoxious to the people in the last reign. All bridges which had fallen into decay he ordered to be repaired, and he directed many new edifices to be built. He also founded schools and colleges; and gave such encouragement to learned men, that philosophers resorted to his court from Greece. For the general instruction of his people, he circulated the admirable "Rules for living well," written by Ardshir, and required every family in Persia to possess a copy. For his own instruction, he procured a work of the famous Pilpay, from India, entitled *Homaioun Nameh*, "The Royal Manual," or fables on the art of governing, which, by his direction, was translated into Persic.

Chosroes divided his kingdom into four great governments. The first of these governments comprised Khorassan, Seistan, and Kerman; the second, the lands dependent upon the cities of Ispahan and Koom, the provinces of Ghelan, Aderbigan,

and Armenia; the third, Fars and Ahway; and the fourth, Irak, which extended to the frontier of the Roman empire. Wise regulations were introduced for the management of these governments, and every check established that could prevent abuse of power in the officers appointed for their administration.

In all these regulations Chosroes was ably assisted by his prime vizier, called Buzurge Mihir, "the well beloved," who was raised from the lowest station to the first rank in the kingdom; and the minister's virtues and talents have shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch who, by his penetration, called them into action. The wisdom of Buzurge is greatly celebrated by Persian writers, of whom they relate the following anecdotes, which prove it. One day, in council, when others had spoken at great length, Chosroes asked why he remained silent? "Because," said he, "a statesman ought to give advice, as a physician medicines, only when there is occasion." At another time, at one of the assemblies of the sages, the king proposed as a subject of debate, "What is misery in the extreme?" A Greek philosopher, looking only to the present life, answered, "Poverty in old age;" in the same spirit, an Indian replied, "Great pain, with dejection of mind;" but Buzurge, looking beyond the grave, (for it is said that he was privately a Christian,) answered, "A late repentance at the close of life;" to which a universal assent was given. And truly Buzurge was right. Bitter indeed is that man's cup, who at the close of his earthly career, looks back upon a life of sin and shame, and forward to a just and an avenging God. Hope, that solace of life, he can hardly dare venture to entertain; he doubts if his repentance be sincere; he cannot adopt the promises of mercy as his own; and the darkness of despair thickens around him. We will not attempt to limit the Holy One of Israel, or discourage a true penitent; but surely it is highly improper, and may be fatal, to neglect the Saviour in the time of health, and trust to a late repentance. And yet how many thousands are there who build on that their hopes for eternity!

"All promise is poor dilatory man,
And that through every stage: when young, indeed,
In full content, we sometimes nobly rest,
Unanxious for ourselves, and only wish,
As duteous sons, our fathers were more wise;
At thirty, man suspects himself a fool;

Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan;
At fifty, chides his infamous delay,
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve;
In all the magnanimity of thought,
Resolves, and re-resolves—then dies the same."—YOUNG.

Chosroes early engaged in a war with the Romans, and throughout the whole course of his long reign, he maintained this war, at intervals, with the Emperors Justinian, Justin, and Tiberius; notwithstanding the former had purchased a disgraceful peace in the beginning of his reign. Four times he invaded the Roman territories successfully. He captured Sura and Antioch, reduced all Syria, conquered Colchis and Iberia, and established his power on the banks of the Phasis, and on the shores of the Euxine. During these invasions, he levied great contributions in the Roman territories, dismantled their cities, and plundered the rich offerings in the churches. After he had captured Antioch, and transplanted the inhabitants into Persia, Justinian expostulated by his ambassadors upon this breach of the first peace. The wily Persian received the ambassadors with civility, and with tears in his eyes deprecated the miseries of this war, into which he was reluctantly driven, he said, by the Persian nobility, to resist the aggressions of Justinian, who stirred up enemies against him on every side, and tampered with his Christian subjects to shake their fidelity. At the same time, he intimated that he might be induced, by a sum of money in hand, and an annual subsidy, to return home and make a lasting peace. A peace was concluded very advantageous to himself, and ignominious to the Romans; but Chosroes did not hold it sacred. With a fond desire of accumulating wealth, he went on taking city after city, and raising contributions wherever he came. Covetousness was his besetting sin; and to fill his coffers he long kept the Romans in alarm.

Nor was it by his own arms only that Chosroes terrified the Romans. He encouraged the Saracens and Goths to invade the Roman territories; and when Justinian remonstrated, Chosroes replied that his brother, the Roman emperor, had no right to complain, since it could be proved, by his own letters, that he had practised the same arts with the Saracens and Huns, to induce them to invade Persia.

After all his successes, the empire of Chosroes extended from Syria and the Mediterranean Sea, to the river Indus, eastwards; and from the Sihon and Jaxartes, to the frontiers

of Egypt, southwards. He erected his capital, Madain,* on the Tigris, about a day's journey from Bagdad. He adorned this city with a stately palace called *Thak Khosrou* "the dome of Khosru," from its magnificent cupola, in the vault of which he deposited his treasures. This building was so durable in construction, that the caliph Almanzor was forced to desist from an attempt to pull it down, on account of the greatness of the expense and labour. Most of the palace remained undemolished, upon which a Persian poet wrote the following distich:

> "See here the reward of an excellent work;
> All consuming time still spares the palace of Chosru."

The only insurrection which disturbed the reign of Chosroes, was that of his son Nouschizad. The mother of this prince was a Christian, and he was brought up by her in her faith, contrary to the wish of Chosroes. The profession which this youth made of his belief in the doctrines of Christ was a bold one, and he poured contempt on the rites of the magi. This enraged Chosroes, who, to punish what he deemed heresy, placed him in confinement. Nouschizad, however, deceived by a rumour of the death of his father, effected his escape, released other prisoners, collected a number of followers, of whom many were Christians, and attempted to establish himself in Fars and Ahwaz. Chosroes sent an army to quell this revolt, and gave a letter of instruction to Ram-Burzeen, the general, to this effect: "My son Nouschizad, hearing a rumour that went abroad of my death, has, without waiting for its confirmation, taken up arms: he has released many prisoners; he has expended treasures which I meant to employ against the enemies of my kingdom; and he has taken the field without reflection on the consequences which may result from such a number of Christians acquiring power. If, however, Nouschizad will return to his allegiance, send back the prisoners he has released to their places of confinement, put to death some particular officers and nobles who have espoused his cause, and allow the rest of his followers to disperse and go where they choose, I will consent to pardon him; but should he continue in rebellion, and not submit when he receives this assurance of mercy, Ram-Burzeen is directed not to lose an instant in attacking

* By some writers, Madain is supposed to have been the same with Ctesiphon If this be correct, the city was erected during the Parthian domination, and Chosroes would therefore only improve it, or add thereto.

him. A man of illustrious descent, whose disposition inclines him to evil, should be treated according to his conduct not his birth. It is a good action to slay a wicked man in arms against the king, who is the sovereign of the earth. Let no fear prevent your cutting the thread of his days; it will be by himself, not by you, that his blood is shed. He flies with ardour to the religion of Christ, and turns away his head from our crown. But should Nouschizad be made prisoner in action, hurt not a hair of his head; shut him up in the same place where he was before confined, along with the slaves who attended him. Let him be furnished with all he wants, and allow none of our military officers to use expressions that can in any degree insult or wound the feelings of a son whom we still hold dear. If any should abuse Nouschizad, let him lose his life; for although that prince has dishonoured his birth, still it is from us that he derives his existence, and our affection continues his security."

The mandate of Chosroes was obeyed. Ram-Burzeen brought the prince to action, in which Nouschizad was slain. Before he died he requested that his body might be sent to his mother, that he might have the burial of a Christian. Thus was the house of Chosroes divided against itself: the father was "divided against the son," because he had relinquished the worship of his forefathers, thereby verifying the words of our Saviour, Luke xii. 53. It were to be wished, however, that Nouschizad had suffered these persecutions with Christian resignation.

Historians have dwelt on the magnificence of the courts which sought the friendship of Chosroes. Among these, the emperors of China and India are the most distinguished. Their presents to him are described as magnificent, as exceeding in curiosity and richness any that were before seen. This may, however, be oriental hyperbole; for Mirkhond and other Persian historians dwell with delight on the subject, because the act tended to exalt the character of Chosroes.

The internal regulations of the kingdom of Chosroes, says Malcolm, were excellent. He established and fixed a moderate land tax over all his dominions. He also imposed a capitation tax on Jews and Christians. All persons under twenty and above fifty were exempted from service. The regulations for preserving the discipline of his army were even more stringent than those of the civil government. But all the vigilance and justice of Chosroes could not prevent corruption and tyranny among the officers of the government.

The knowledge of this came to the monarch's ears, and he appointed a secret commission of thirteen persons, in whom he placed implicit confidence, to inquire into and bring him a true report on the conduct of the inferior officers of the state. The result of this commission was, the discovery of great abuses, and the execution of twenty-four petty governors, convicted of injustice and tyranny.

The manner in which this intelligence was conveyed to the monarch, aptly illustrates the despotic principles of ancient oriental states, where able and good ministers could only hint at abuses through the medium of incident. Persian writers say, that during the latter years of the reign of Chosroes, an immense number of jackals came from the fields of Tartary into the provinces of Persia, the inhabitants of which were greatly alarmed at the horrid shrieks and screams of their new visitors. Intelligence of this was sent to court, and Chosroes partaking in the superstition of the age, demanded of the chief mobud, or high-priest, what it portended. The officer gave a reply which, while it shows his own uprightness, denotes that Chosroes was a true oriental despot, to whose ear truth could only be spoken indirectly. "By what I have learned from the history of former times," said the mobud, "it is when injustice prevails, that beasts of prey spread over a kingdom." Chosroes took the hint, and appointed the commission described.

That Chosroes was a lover of justice in the strictest sense of the word, cannot be doubted. A Persian manuscript relates the following curious account, which he used to give, of the sense of justice first springing up in his mind. "I one day, when a youth, saw a man on foot throw a stone at a dog, and break the animal's leg; a moment afterwards a horse passed, and with a kick broke the man's leg; and this animal had only galloped a short distance, when its foot slipped in a hole, and its leg was broken. I gazed with wonder and awe, and have since feared to commit injustice." Though this anecdote may partake of oriental exaggeration, yet it shows that in all ages of the world, a sense of retributive justice pervaded the minds of men.

> "There is a time, and justice marks the date,
> For long forbearing clemency to wait;
> That hour elapsed, the incurable revolt
> Is punished, and down comes the thunderbolt."—Cowper.

An interesting anecdote is related illustrative of Chosroes'

love of justice. A Roman ambassador, sent to Ctesiphon with rich presents, when admiring the noble prospect from the windows of the royal palace, remarked an uneven spot of ground, and asked the reason why it was not rendered uniform. "It is the property of an aged woman," said the Persian noble, "who has objections to sell it, though often requested to do so by our king; and he is more willing to have his prospect spoiled, than to commit violence." "That irregular spot," replied the Roman, "consecrated as it is by justice, appears more beautiful than all the surrounding scenery." Contrasted with the conduct of Ahab, who coveted the field of Naboth, and who could not rest contented till he had gained the possession, though its price was blood, this action is well calculated to raise the character of Chosroes in the reader's estimation. He may, indeed, be considered as one of the greatest of Asiatic monarchs. Had he been a Christian, how had he blessed mankind! And how many nominal Christians are shamed by his conduct!

This great king, as we have seen, was generally successful in his wars, (of which he was too fond,) by his arts or his arms. Towards the latter end of his reign, however, a campaign against Cappadocia proved disastrous. Justin, the emperor of Rome, had in his last years been incapable of directing the affairs of the empire. Under these circumstances, his wife Sophia sent letters to Chosroes pathetically describing the miseries of the Roman empire; beseeching him to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians; and representing the uncertainty of all worldly greatness, and the small glory that would result to him from conquests made over a headless nation and a helpless woman. Chosroes, on reading these letters, immediately withdrew his troops from the Roman empire, and consented to a truce for three years, Armenia excluded. This truce was favourable to the Romans, and their affairs were quickly re-established by the diligence and success of Tiberius, the successor of Justin, who was an active and vigilant prince, and a warrior of great experience. Chosroes, who had no idea of these changes, prepared early the next spring to enter Armenia, resolving to penetrate Cappadocia, and make himself master of Cesarea, and other cities in that quarter. Tiberius, foreseeing the consequences of this invasion, sent ambassadors to dissuade Chosroes from this expedition, and to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but at the same time he sent these ambassadors, he directed

Justinian to assemble all the forces in the eastern provinces, in order, if necessary, to repel force by force. Chosroes received the ambassadors haughtily, commanding them to follow him to Cesarea, where he should be at leisure to hear them. Not long after, he met with the Roman army, which, contrary to his expectations, was extremely numerous, and eager to engage his forces. It is thought by some historians that he would have retired to a convenient camp, instead of enduring a conflict, had not Curtius, a Scythian, who commanded the right wing of the Roman army, charged the left of the Persians, where Chosroes was in person. The combat was severe, but at length the Persians were defeated, and the royal treasure, and the sacred fire, before which the king worshipped, taken in his sight. The next night, under the cover of darkness, Chosroes retaliated upon one detachment of the Roman army, routing them with great slaughter, after which he marched to the Euphrates, in order to winter in his own dominions. Justinian, the Roman general, however, penetrating his design, followed him so closely, that he was forced to pass the river on an elephant, with great risk of being drowned, a death which was the lot of many of his followers. The Romans pursued them across the river, and for the first time wintered in the Persian provinces.

The Greek writers say, that Chosroes died almost immediately after this loss of a broken heart. It is certain that the effects of it brought him to the grave; but it would appear that he lingered on till the following spring, and that before he died, he made peace with the Romans, and enacted a decree that none of his successors should risk their persons in a general engagement; thereby conveying a tacit censure on his own rashness. The disasters which oppressed him most, were, the loss of the sacred fire, the mutinous behaviour of his soldiers, and the discontent of his subjects in general, who, like other communities, were ever ready to murmur when adversity cast its dark shadows over their rulers.

Chosroes died A. D. 580, after he had reigned forty-eight years. His last instructions to his son and successor were admirable for patriarchal wisdom and piety, resembling those of Cyrus to his offspring. They read thus:

"I, Nouschirvan, sovereign of Persia and India, address these my last words to Hormouz, my son, that they may serve him as a lamp in the day of darkness, a path in his journey through the wilderness, a pole star in his navigation through the tempestuous ocean of this world.

"Let him remember, in the midst of his greatness, that kings rule not for themselves, but for their people; respecting whom they are like the heavens to the earth. How can the earth be fruitful, unless it be watered, unless it be fostered by the heavens? My son, let your subjects all feel your beneficence: the nearest to you first, and so on by degrees, to the remotest. If I durst, I would propose to you my own example; but I choose rather to remind you of that glorious luminary which has been an example to me. Behold the sun: it visits all parts of the world; and if sometimes visible, at other times withdrawn from view, it is because the universe is successively gilded and cherished by its splendid beams. Enter not into any province but with a prospect of doing good to the inhabitants; quit it not but with the intention of doing good elsewhere. Bad men must needs be punished: to them the sun of majesty is necessarily eclipsed; but the good deserve encouragement, and require to be cheered with its beams.

"My son, often present thyself before Heaven to implore its aid; but approach not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple? Should evil lusts be admitted into the temple of thy soul? If thou carefully observe this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be confounded, thy friends shall be faithful. Thou shalt be a delight to thy subjects, and shalt have cause to delight in them. Do justice, abase the proud, comfort the distressed, love your children, protect learning, be advised by your ancient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in state affairs, and let your people's good be your sole and supreme object. Farewell, I leave you a mighty empire; you will keep it if you follow my counsels; but it will be impossible for you to do so, if you follow strange counsel."

That Chosroes took Cyrus the Great for his example, may be gathered from the fact, that he caused a similar inscription to be engraved on his tiara.

> What is long life, or what a glorious reign,
> If our successors follow in our train?
> My fathers left this crown, and I the trust
> Must soon resign, and mingle with the dust.

Such was the mighty Chosroes! His name ranks high in the pages of history, and perhaps he approached nearer to the character of a good and just prince than any human being placed in such a situation, and in such an age. His own country had cause to regret his loss; others, however, doubt-

less rejoiced in his death. Copying some of his predecessors, he toiled ardently to raise a monumental pile that might record the mischiefs he had done. But this was in part owing to the despotic nature of the Persian government. The monarchs of Persia, whatever may have been their dispositions, were compelled by their constitution to repress rebellion, retaliate attack, and to attain power over foreign nations in order to preserve their own in peace, which led them to commit many actions at variance with humanity and justice. Such was their state policy. Not theirs alone. The four great monarchies of antiquity stood mostly upon a foundation of injustice. They grew up by unreasonable quarrels and excessive revenge, by ravage and bloodshed, by depopulating countries, and by laying cities and villages into ruinous heaps. Tully justly observed, that if the Romans would have been exactly just, *redeundam erat ad casas*, they must have given the conquered nations their country again; they must have resigned their empire and wealth, shrunk into peasantry, and retired to their old cottages. The same may be said of some modern states. Their power has been also reared upon the ruin of other nations.

"Lands intersected by a narrow firth
Abhor each other. Mountains interposed
Make enemies of nations who had else
Like kindred drops been mingled into one.
Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys;
And worse than all, and most to be deplored
As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that mercy with a bleeding heart
Weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast.
Then what is man? And what man seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head, to think himself a man?"—COWPER.

Alas! that it should be the maxim of the world, that he that is strong enough, may do what he pleases; One stronger than they will bring them to judgment.

Chosroes was succeeded in his kingdom by his son,

HORMISDAS II., OR HORMOUZ BEN NOUSCHIRVAN.

Hormisdas II. ascended the throne of Persia under very auspicious circumstances. His empire was not only extensive, but he had for his counsellor the celebrated Buzurge Mihir, the wisest man in Persia, and the first minister of Chosroes.

Buzurge had been the preceptor of Hormisdas, and had faithfully performed that arduous trust. The natural dispositions of the royal pupil were indolence, luxury, pride, and cruelty; and these sad features in his character, though not corrected, were so far restrained while Buzurge frequented the court, that in the beginning of his reign, Hormisdas promised to surpass even Chosroes himself. He treated Buzurge with so much deference, that he would not wear the tiara in his presence; and when some of his courtiers thought this extraordinary, and asserted that it was more than due even to a father, he answered, "You say right, my friends, I owe more to him than to my father: the life and kingdom I received from Nouschirvan, will expire in a few years; but the fame I shall acquire by following the instructions of Buzurge, will survive to the latest ages."

Here was a fine prospect of a happy reign; but it soon vanished. When the venerable Buzurge retired from the court, Hormisdas fell a prey to the adulation and sycophancy of younger and false counsellors. His character became changed. Released from the wholesome restraint which the example of his father, and the lessons of his tutor had imposed, he plunged into every excess, and involved himself and his empire in the greatest calamities. His most faithful judges and counsellors were either removed, or put to death, and multitudes of his best subjects fell a prey to his violence for imputed disaffection or treason. It is even said that he put to death the wise Buzurge himself!

The early consequences of this change of rule, were foreign wars and internal rebellions. He first quarrelled with the emperor Tiberius. When that monarch sent ambassadors to renew the last peace made with Chosroes, he treated them disdainfully, and required a sum of money as a tribute, before he granted it, which involved him in a war with the Romans.

In the first campaign, no decisive engagement took place. The Romans, under the command of Philippicus, captured many Persian towns, plundered several provinces, and took many prisoners, while the Persian army withdrew into the mountains for fear. The next year, however, Philippicus defeated the Persians, under the command of Cardariganus, with great slaughter, and the Romans, at the close of the campaign, again made incursions into Persia, burned the villages, and plundered the people. The next spring, the tide of success was turned. The Persians gained some advantages, upon which Philippicus was removed, and Commentiolus sent to

command in his place. But matters wore no better aspect, and Philippicus was again sent into the field, and his want of success again restored Commentiolus. He now engaged the Persians, but he fled at the onset; and Heraclius taking the command, entirely defeated the Persians, with the loss of Aphraates and Nabades, two of their best generals.

In the mean time, about A. D. 585, the hordes of the great khakan of Tartary crossed the Oxus, and demanded a free passage through Persia, on the pretext of making war with the emperor of Constantinople. The alarmed Hormisdas at first consented; but their conduct soon satisfied him that he had admitted into his kingdom the most dangerous of all enemies. Baharam, one of the chiefs in the Persian army, was selected to head the troops against the ferocious invaders. Baharam selected twelve thousand of the bravest of the forces, and marched against them, and was successful. In the strong mountainous country,* where he opposed the Tartars, his veterans gained a complete victory over their numerous but undisciplined hosts. The khakan was slain; and his son, who re-assembled his defeated army, was also killed in a second action. The spoils of the Tartars, which were immense, were sent to Madain to Hormisdas.

Baharam was now sent against the Romans. Orders were given him to pass the river Araxes, and to ravage the Roman territories on that side. To oppose him, the Roman emperor sent Romanus with a powerful army, who entirely defeated the Persian conqueror, and thereby gave a fatal blow to the Persian affairs.

When Hormisdas received advice of this disaster, he sent Baharam a woman's garment, in contempt, and threatened to decimate his troops. The rough soldier put on the dress he had received, and presented himself to his soldiers. "Behold," said he, "the reward with which the monarch I serve has deigned to crown my services." A revolt was the consequence. The soldiers hailed Baharam as their sovereign, and demanded to be led against the reckless monarch who had dared, from the midst of his luxurious court, to cast such an insult on the defender of their country.

Baharam was too indignant to repress the violence of his troops, but veiling his ambition, he forbade the overthrow of the house of Sassan; and commanded that money should be struck in the name of Chosru Parviz, the son of Hormisdas.

* Some authors say it was in Khorassan that Baharam engaged the Tartars; others say, Mazanderan.

This measure caused dissensions in the royal family. Chosru fled, to escape the danger to which he saw himself exposed; and the king, after his son's flight, imprisoned two of his maternal uncles, Bundawee and Botham, which act precipitated his ruin. The friends of these nobles not only liberated them from prison, but were sufficiently powerful to confine Hormisdas, whose eyes they put out, to disqualify him from reigning in future. Determined to do as they pleased they also put to death his younger son Hormisdas, whom he recommended as fitter to reign over them than Chosru, who was a prince prone to vice of every kind, and regardless of the public good. Such was the end of the reign of the wicked prince Hormisdas II. He gave heed to flattery and was ruined.

As soon as Chosru learned the fate of his father, he returned, and ascended the throne of Persia, A. D. 588.

CHOSROES II., OR CHOSRU PARVIZ.

When Chosru, or, as we shall now call him, after the Greek writers, Chosroes, ascended the throne, he received the homage of the principal persons present, amid loud acclamations and ardent prayers for his felicity. Then supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments, and distributed the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of rendering him assistance; largesses were also bestowed upon the people, and the prison door opened—*except to his own father**—that the fame of his lenity and liberality might secure the hearts of his subjects.

But there was one heart proof against his generosity. Baharam had affected great regard for the house of Sassan, but he now threw off the mask, and exhibited to the world that he had a greater regard for his own honours. Chosroes sent him magnificent presents, and promised him the second seat in his kingdom, if he came and acknowledged him for his sovereign. Baharam rejected his overtures with scorn, and ordered him to lay down his crown, and come and pay his respects to him, on which condition he should be made governor of a province. Chosroes again entreated him to be

* Some ancient writers say, that he caused his father to be put to death soon afterwards. Mirkhond, however, relates, that after his restoration to the throne, he put to death his two uncles, to whom he owed his life and throne, on the specious but cruel pretext that they had dared to lay violent hands upon the person of his father.

his friend, but, deaf to all remonstrances, Baharam prepared for war, and Chosroes was compelled to meet him in the field, to contest with him the crown of Persia.

The opposing armies met near Nisibis, Chosroes keeping within the city, while Baharam encamped before it. A negotiation was commenced, but it proved ineffectual. At the same time, Chosroes, suspecting some of his nobles, put them to death. This was fatal to his cause. Disaffection spread through his ranks, and when Baharam attacked the suburbs, many of them joined his standard, and Chosroes was compelled to take refuge in flight.

Baharam now entered the city of Ctesiphon with the full purpose of ascending the throne of Persia. With this design he threw Bundawee into prison, and treated all such as had shown any affection to the royal family with great severity; while towards the rest of the Persians he affected the greatest humanity and condescension. But the people in general could not be depended upon. The house of Sassan was still regarded with general favour, and when he assumed the regal ornaments and furniture, as a preliminary step to taking the title, the Persian nobility, disdaining to become the subjects of one born their equal, concerted measures for emancipating themselves and their country, and restoring the ancient lustre of the Persian empire.

They commenced the reformation by releasing Bundawee from prison, and acknowledging him for their chief. By the advice of this prince, they attacked Baharam in the palace in the dead of the night, which they did with great courage. Baharam, however, and his attendants vanquished the assailants, so that many of them were slain. Bundawee and a few others only escaped, and these marched towards Media, and endeavoured to raise forces for Chosroes.

Baharam had now a fair prospect of building up his glory on the ruins of the house of Sassan. He placed the crown upon his head and resolved to wear it. But Chosroes again appeared in the field against him. He had fled to the emperor Maurice of Rome, with whom he had made a treaty, and who ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furnish him with whatever might be necessary for his restoration. These supplies had the wished-for effect. The Persians, seeing Chosroes in a condition to defend them, universally acknowledged him, and opened their gates to his forces.

Baharam prepared to meet him, determined at all hazards

to maintain the dignity he had usurped. Zadespras, one of his commanders, having attempted to enter the district of one of the lords who had declared for Chosroes, was defeated and put to death. Soon after, Anathonus was also slain. The next year, A. D. 593, Chosroes marched into Persia with intent to decide the war. Many of the forces of Baharam quitted his service and went over to Chosroes; and Seleucia, and most of the great cities near the river Euphrates, submitted to him. In the mean time several skirmishes had taken place, all advantageous to Chosroes. At length, he defeated the main army of Baharam with great slaughter, by which act he was enabled to reascend the throne. Baharam fled to Tartary, where, though he had formerly put their forces to shame, he was kindly treated by the khakan, under whom he attained the highest distinctions; but his days were shortened by poison, which was given him, according to Persian authors, by the queen of the khakan, who dreaded his future designs.

On gaining this victory, Chosroes gave a remarkable instance of superstitious credulity, in a letter to Gregory, bishop of Antioch, as preserved by Theophylact. It reads thus:

"I, Chosroes, son of Hormisdas, king of kings, etc., having heard that the famous martyr Sergius granted to every one who sought his aid their petitions, did, on the seventh day of January, in the first year of my reign, invoke him to grant me victory against Zadespras; promising, that if that rebel was either killed or taken by my troops, that I would give to his church a golden cross enriched with jewels: and accordingly, on the ninth day of February, the head of Zadespras was brought to me by a party of horse, which I despatched against him.

"To give therefore, the most public testimony of my gratitude and thankfulness to the saint for granting my petition, I send to his church that cross, and also another, formerly given by the emperor Justinian, and taken away by my grandfather Chosroes, the son of Cavades, which I found deposited among my treasures."

Chosroes married a Christian, called by the Roman writers Irene,* and by the Persian Schirin, "soft," or "agreeable;" for whose sake he for a long time treated the Christians kindly. It was thought by many that he was "almost a

* By the Byzantine writers, Irene is said to have been the daughter of Maurice, the emperor of Rome; the Roman accounts say that she was a public dancer.

Christian" himself; but in a few years after, he gave unequivocal proof of his attachment to the religion of his ancestors, and of that aversion which the unregenerate heart of man bears to the faith of Christ. He conceived an implacable hatred against the Christians, and persecuted them even unto death. In this line of conduct he may have been actuated by the counsels of the magi; for they bore an implacable hatred to the religion of the cross, feeling, like Demetrius of old, that their gains were likely to be affected by its extension. Many bitter persecutions have arisen from this unhallowed source, and yet, notwithstanding, Christianity has flourished—a proof that God is its Author.

From the moment Chosroes felt himself established on the throne, he changed the tone of his conduct both towards the Romans and the Persians, his subjects. Forgetful of the debt of gratitude he owed the former, he insulted their ambassadors, and threatened to make war upon them; and unmindful of his duties towards the latter, he ruled them with a rod of iron, treating them with great rigour.

It was not long before Chosroes carried his army into the Roman empire. In A. D. 602, the emperor Maurice was murdered by Phocas, and Chosroes, under pretext of avenging his murder, and punishing the assassin, marched a powerful army into the Roman frontiers in his sixteenth year, A. D. 603. In vain did the assassin, by his ambassador, endeavour to appease him with large presents and larger promises; he regarded neither, and marched forward. In the first year of the war he succeeded in laying the country under contribution. In the next, he reduced several fortresses, and recovered others that he had given to the emperor Maurice in gratitude for his aid. In the eighteenth year of his reign, he plundered all Mesopotamia and Syria, and carried off immense riches. In the succeeding year, he ravaged Palestine and Phenicia with fire and sword. And in his twentieth year his generals wasted Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, as far as Chalcedon, burning cities, and destroying the inhabitants without respect to age or sex.

In A. D. 609, Chosroes took Apamea and Edessa, and blocked up Antioch. This induced the Romans to hazard a battle, but they were utterly defeated, so that scarcely a man was left to mourn the death of his companions. The death of Phocas, and the accession of Heraclius, did not put a stop to his career. The year following, he took Cesarea, and carried away many thousands of people into captivity. He

conquered Judea also, took Jerusalem, which he plundered, carried away the pretended cross on which the superstitious fondly believed that the Redeemer suffered, and sold 90,000 Christians for slaves to the Jews in his dominions, who put them all to death, thereby displaying their ancient enmity to the cause of the gospel. They still despised their Messiah, as "the man of Galilee," whence they persecuted his followers, though brethren according to the flesh. Thus Jews and pagans combined to root out true religion from the earth; but the more they raged, the more it grew and prospered, watered with the dew of God's blessing.

These conquests inflamed the ambition of Chosroes. In his twenty-seventh year, A. D. 614, he invaded Egypt, took Alexandria, reduced both the Lower and Upper Egypt, to the frontiers of Lydia and Abyssinia, and added this kingdom to his dominions; a conquest which none of his predecessors had been able to effect. The year following, he once more turned his forces against the Constantinopolitan empire, and he reduced the city of Chalcedon, to which he had long laid siege.

Alarmed at his progress, the emperor Heraclius sent to implore peace upon any conditions. But Chosroes, elated with his success, and meditating nothing less than the destruction of the Roman name, arrogantly replied, that he would never grant him or his subjects peace, till they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the Persian religion.

He never prospered more. The proud boaster was doomed to be confounded by the power he despised. Roused from his lethargy by this insulting and impious reply, Heraclius concluded a peace with the other barbarians on their own terms, resolved to make a last and desperate effort, and to put all to the hazard of a battle. He was successful. He outgeneralled the Persians, and defeated their army with great slaughter. The conqueror made fresh overtures for peace; but they were rejected. Again and again, enabled by the plunder of the Christian churches, Chosroes raised fresh armies to oppose Heraclius; but he, preserving the strictest discipline, defeated them as soon as they appeared in the field, and he proceeded so rapidly in his conquests, that the haughty tyrant was forced to flee from city to city with his wives and concubines, in order to escape death. The Romans marched in one direction as far as the Caspian; in another to Ispahan, destroying in their progress all his splendid palaces, plundering

his hoarded treasures,* and dispersing the slaves of his pleasure. Yet even in the wretched state to which his fortune and character had reduced him, he rejected an offer of peace made by the humanity of his conqueror. But his career was soon at an end. The subjects of Chosroes had lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country, and they formed a conspiracy against him. That his cup of misery might be full, he was seized by his eldest son Siroes, whom he wished to have excluded from the throne. This unnatural prince treated him with the greatest severity. He first cast him into a dungeon, and soon afterwards put him to death; justifying the parricide by the assertion that he was compelled to the deed by the clamours and importunities of the nobles and people.

The fall of Chosroes affords a memorable instance of the instability of human greatness. At the time he sent the impious answer to the demands of Heraclius for peace, he was living in splendour and luxury, such as Persian monarchs never exceeded. The vast territories his armies had subdued were exhausted, that his palaces and the gorgeous state of his court might exceed all that history ever recorded of kingly grandeur. He had a palace for every season; he had invaluable thrones, particularly that called Takh-dis, formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac and the hours of the day; 12,000 ladies, who in the hyperbolic language of the east, were equal to the moon in beauty, attended his court; and mirth and music were heard throughout his halls. But, like Belshazzar, he lifted up his heart and defied the Almighty, and sentence against him that moment went forth. The foes whom he had long despised, and long trampled upon, driven to despair by his oppressive violence, flew to arms, and went on in their conquests, till almost the whole of his empire was beneath their feet, and he himself laid in the dust. The haughty spoiler of the world fell as an oak cut down in its glory.

"The forked weapon of the skies can send
Illuminations into deep, dark holds,
Which the mild sunbeam hath not power to pierce.
Ye thrones that have defied remorse, and cast
Pity away, soon shall ye shake with fear."—WORDSWORTH.

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* One of these treasures was called *Badawerd*, or, "The gift of the winds," because it had been cast upon his territory, when on its way t the Roman emperor, his benefactor.

Chosroes was succeeded in his kingdom, A. D. 627, by that son who was the instrument of his death,

SIROES, OR SHIROUIEH.

The first act of Siroes was, to conclude a perpetual peace with Heraclius, and to set at liberty all the Roman captives, and among the rest, Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem. He also, it is said, sent back the wood which the superstitious supposed to have formed part of the cross on which the Saviour was crucified, and which had been carried by Chosroes in triumph from Jerusalem into Persia.

Siroes did not long survive the parricide of which he had been guilty. He died after he had reigned seven months, according to the oriental, or a little more than a year, according to the Roman historians. Rozut-ul-Suffa states that his life was terminated by melancholy arising from his crime; but Roman historians say that he was murdered by one of his generals. He was succeeded by his son

ARDESIR, OR ARDESCHIR BEN SCHIROUIEH,

a child of seven years of age, A. D. 628. Ardesir reigned only seven months. He was deposed and murdered by the commander of the forces, Sarbarazas, or Scheheriah, who usurped the throne; which, however, he held but a few days, being slain by the adherents of the royal family.

After the death of Sarbarazas, according to Persian writers, a queen of the name of Poorandokht, the daughter of Chosru Parviz, reigned one year and four months; then her cousin, Shah-Shenendeh, who only reigned one month; then another queen of the name of Arzem-dokht, sister to the former; then Kesra, reported to have belonged to the royal family, who was quickly murdered; then Ferokhzad, the son of Chosru Parviz, whose days were terminated by poison; and finally Jezdegerd, under whose rule the Persian monarchy sunk to rise no more.

Nothing of interest is recorded during the period in which the above kings and queens reigned. Their rapid elevation and destruction denotes a state of great anarchy, and shows that the management of public affairs was at this period a subject of contest among the nobles, who veiled their ambition under the garb of loyalty and attachment to the house of Sassan.

HORMISDAS, OR JEZDEGERD BEN SCHEHERIAH.

Jezdegerd was raised to the throne of Persia, A. D. 632. He was a grandson of Chosroes by one of his sons, and, it is said, the only surviving branch of the royal family.

The reign of Jezdegerd was brief and disastrous. Mohammed, who was born at Mecca, A. D. 569, had, during the reign of Heraclius in Constantinople, and Chosru Parviz in Persia, announced himself as a prophet. For some time, he was unheeded, except by a few intimate friends. At length, however, the impostor began to preach publicly in Mecca, and daily added to the number of his disciples. The Koreish soon took the alarm, and Mohammed with his friends were obliged to take refuge in flight. He retired to Tayef, apparently yielding to the storm, but waiting in reality for an opportunity of exerting himself with advantage. The time he chose was the sacred month, in which the caravans of pilgrims came to Mecca, and which was, like the period called "the truce of God" in the middle ages, a season of universal peace. Mohammed returned to Mecca at this season, and announced his mission to the strangers, who came thither on pilgrimage. Among these strangers were pilgrim Jews from Yatreb, or Medina, who longed for the coming of the Messiah, and a tribe of idolatrous Arabs from the same city, who held these Jews in subjection. When the Medinese Arab pilgrims heard the account of the new prophet at Mecca, they asked, "Can this be the Messiah of whom the Jews are constantly speaking? Let us find him out, and gain him over to our interests." Mohammed saw the advantage he should gain by their alliance, and replied that he *was* the person whom the Jews expected, but that his mission was universal; for all who believed in God and his prophet should share its advantages. From that moment they joined his cause, and it flourished. After having given his disciples permission to stand up in their own defence, when his power was still further strengthened, he issued his command to propagate the new religion by force of arms. "When ye encounter the unbelievers," said he, "strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind them in bonds; and either give them a free dismission afterwards, or exact a ransom until the war shall have laid down its arms." This command was consonant to the feelings of his followers. They first waged war with the Meccans and the Jewish tribes near Medina. Success crowned their efforts, recruits crowded

from all quarters to join his banners, and at length the armies of the Mussulmans were spread over Arabia, and were to be seen on the shores of the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, and even in Syria. Elated with the success of his predatory incursions, it is said that Mohammed sent a letter to Chosru Parviz, inviting him to embrace his doctrines, which was rejected with contempt.* Such was the state of Mohammedanism when its founder died, and Abu-Bekr succeeded to the khaliphate, A. D. 632, the same year that Jezdegerd ascended the throne of Persia. The khaliph not knowing how to find employment for the vast multitude of enthusiasts that arose in every part of Arabia, resolved to display the standard of the faith of Islam in the field of Syria. He first sent detachments to the borders of Syria and Babylonia. These encountered no obstacles, and returned laden with plunder, upon which the khaliph invited all the Arabs to join in the enterprize he projected, and great numbers responded to the invitation. From the cowardice and treachery of the Byzantine provincial governors, the invaders encountered no effective opposition; and in less than two years, the greater part of Syria was subdued. While the Saracens, as the Arabs were from this time generally called, were thus pursuing their career of victory, Abu-Bekr died, and was succeeded in the khaliphate by Omar, who thirsted to massacre all who would not believe in the prohet. No sooner was Omar placed at the head of affairs, than the armies of the Mohammedans seemed to have acquired tenfold vigour. The greater part of Syria and Mesopotamia had been subdued during the life of Abu-Bekr; the conquest of these countries was now completed, and armies were sent into Persia, Palestine, Phenicia, and Egypt. The Persians were so weakened by the incessant wars of Chosroes, and the subsequent civil commotions, that they could not hope to repel their powerful assailants. Hence, on their appearance, Jezdegerd sent an envoy to Saad, the leader whom Omar had appointed to the chief command of his forces in Persia; and Saad, in compliance with their request, sent a deputation to Madain, consisting of three old Arab chiefs.

* This letter commenced thus: "Mohammed, son of Abd Allah, the apostle of God, to Chosru Parviz, monarch of Persia, greeting." When it had been read thus far, the monarch seized it, and tore it in pieces, because Mohammed had placed his name first. When Mohammed heard of this, he exclaimed, "Thus may God tear his kingdom," an expression which after events justified as a prediction in the sight of his enthusiastic followers.

When these were seated in the presence of Jezdegerd, that monarch addressed himself to the principal person among them, whose name was Shaikh Maghurah, in the following words: "We have always held you in the lowest estimation. Arabs, hitherto, have been only known in Persia in two characters, as merchants and beggars. Your food is green lizards;* your drink, salt water; your covering, garments made of coarse hair. But of late, you have come in bands to Persia; you have eaten of good food, you have drunk of sweet water, and have enjoyed the luxury of soft raiment. You have reported these enjoyments to your brethren, and they are flocking to partake of them. But, not satisfied with all the good things you have thus obtained, you desire to impose a new religion on us, who are unwilling to receive it. You appear to me like the fox in our fable, who went into a garden, where he found an abundance of grapes. The generous gardener would not disturb him. The produce of his abundant vineyard would, he thought, be little diminished by a poor hungry fox enjoying himself; but the animal, not content with his good fortune, went and informed all his tribe of the excellence of the grapes, and the good-nature of the gardener. The garden was filled with foxes; and its indulgent owner was forced to bar the gates, and kill all the intruders, to save himself from ruin. However, as I am satisfied you have been compelled to the conduct which you have pursued from absolute want, I will not only pardon you, but load your camels with wheat and dates, that, when you return to your native land, you may feast your countrymen. But, be assured, if you are insensible to my generosity, and remain in Persia, you shall not escape my just vengeance."

This speech, wherein are displayed the marks of pride and weakness, was heard by the envoy unmoved, and he replied thus: "Whatever thou hast said concerning the former condition of the Arabs, is true. Their food was green lizards: they buried their infant daughters alive; nay, some of them feasted on dead carcasses, and drank blood; while others slew their relations, and thought themselves great and valiant, when by such an act they became possessed of more property; they were closed with hair garments; knew not good from evil; and made no distinction between that which is lawful and that which is unlawful. Such was our state. But God, in his mercy, has sent us, by a holy prophet, Mohammed, a

* The Persians usually called the Arabs, by way of contempt, "naked lizard eaters."

sacred volume, the koran, which teaches us the true faith. By it we are commanded to war against infidels, and to exchange our poor and miserable condition for wealth and power. We now solemnly desire you to receive our religion. If you consent, not an Arab shall enter Persia without your permission; and our leaders will only demand the established taxes,* which all believers are bound to pay. If you do not accept our religion, you are required to pay the tribute† fixed for infidels; should you reject both these propositions, you must prepare for war."

Jezdegerd was too proud to submit to such degrading conditions; and a battle ensued near the city of Cadessia, which was fought with great fury for three days, and which at length ended in the total defeat of the Persians, and the greatest part of the Persian dominions fell into the hands of the conquerors, A. D. 656.

On the loss of this great and decisive battle, Jezdegerd fled to Hulwan, with all the property he could collect. Saad, after taking possession of Madain, pursued him, and sent his nephew Hashem to attack a body of troops which had arrived from Shirwan and Aderbijan. This force took shelter in the fort of Jelwallah, where they were captured; upon which Jezdegerd left his army, and fled to Rhe. Hashem advanced to Hulwan, which he reduced; and, soon after, the city of Ahwaz shared the same fate. Saad marched from thence, by Omar's order, to Amber, and from thence to Koofah, a place which soon after acquired celebrity. From Koofah, Saad was recalled by Omar, on account of a complaint made against him by those under his rule; and Omar Yuseer was appointed his successor.

Jezdegerd, encouraged by the removal of a leader he so much dreaded, assembled an army from Khorassan, Rhe, and Hamadan, and placing it under the command of Firouzin, the bravest of the Persian generals, resolved to contest once more for the empire.

As soon as Omar heard of these preparations, he ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army in Persia, from every quarter of his dominions: and committing the chief command to Noman, he directed him to exert his utmost efforts to destroy for ever the worship of fire. The Arabian force assem-

* The zukat, or religious charity for the poor, was two-and-a-half per cent. upon property: the khums, or fifth, was a tax to support the family of the prophet.

† The tax paid by infidels was thirty-five per cent. on property.

bled at Koofah, and thence marched to the plains of Nahaound, about forty miles to the south of Hamadan, on which the Persians had established a camp, surrounded by a deep entrenchment. During two months these great armies continued in sight of each other, and many skirmishes occurred. At the end of that time, Noman drew up his army in order of battle, and thus addressed the soldiers; "My friends, prepare yourselves to conquer, or to drink of the sweet sherbet* of martyrdom. I shall now call the Tukbeer three times: at the first, you will gird your loins; at the second, mount your steeds; at a third, point your lances, and rush to victory or to paradise. As to me," said Noman, with a loud voice, "I shall be a martyr! When I am slain, obey the orders of Huzeefah-ebn-Aly-Oman."

The Tukbeer (Allah-Akbar, or, "God is great") was sounded; and when it had ceased, the Mohammedans charged with a fury that was irresistible. Noman was slain, as he predicted; but the Persians sustained a total overthrow. The empire of Persia was for ever lost; and that mighty nation fell under the dominion of the Arabian khaliphs.

Jezdegerd protracted for several years a wretched and precarious existence. He first fled to Segistan, then to Khorassan, and lastly to Merou, on the river Oxus, or Gihon. The governor of this city invited the khakan of the Tartars† to take possession of the person of the fugitive monarch. The invitation was accepted; his troops entered Merou, (the gates of which were opened to them by the treacherous governor,) and made themselves masters of it, after a brave resistance from the inhabitants. Jezdegerd escaped from the town during the contest, and reached a mill eight miles from Merou, and entreated the miller to conceal him. The man promised his protection; but, yielding to the temptation of making his fortune by the possession of the rich arms and robes of the unfortunate prince, he treacherously murdered him. The governor of Merou, and those who had aided him, in a few days began to suffer from the tyranny of the khakan, and to repent of their treachery. They encouraged the citizens to rise upon the Tartars; and they not only recovered the city, but forced the khakan to fly with great loss to Bokharah.

* In warm countries, where wine is forbidden, sherbet or lemonade is the beverage in which they delight.

† Khondimir says it was the king of the Hiatila, of "White Huns," whom he invited; but Ferdosi says it was a chief or Turan, who ruled at Samarcand.

The fate of Jezdegerd was now discovered, and the rapacious and treacherous miller fell a victim to the popular rage; and the corpse of the monarch was embalmed, and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors, A. D. 652.

Jezdegerd possessed the royal title nineteen years; ten of which he was a fugitive, reckoning from the battle of Nahaound, A. D. 642. He was the last sovereign of the house of Sassan, a family which governed Persia during 411 years; and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the names of Artaxerxes, Sapor, and Chosroes.

Thus closes the ancient history of Persia. So rapid a declension, from A. D. 614, when the Persian empire was at its height, and larger than it had been since the days of Alexander the Great, is unexampled in history. But the rod had blossomed, pride had budded, and violence had risen up into a rod of wickedness; and hence its doom went forth from Heaven, that it shauld be destroyed. The extraordinary Saracen* power was the instrument by which its overthrow was effected; but the seeds of destruction were found in its own bosom. That impious monarch, Chosru Parviz, by his rapacity and cruelty, alienated the affections of his generals from his family, while his rage for war had drained the country of its ablest defenders, and left it wasted and distracted; thus it became an easy prey to the needy and ferocious Saracens. They came upon the Persians as an overflowing flood, and swept their power from off the earth. Animated by an enthusiasm which made then despise the most fearful odds, as the ministers of vengeance, they sought battle as a feast, and counted danger a sport. They had ever in their mouths the magnificent orientalism, traditionally ascribed to Mohammed, "In the shades of the scimitars is paradise prefigured;" and under the influence of these feelings, their power was irresistible. Such is the ever-changing nature of all mundane af-

* Concerning the etymology of the word Saracen, there have been various opinions; but its true derivation is *Sharkeyn*, which means, in Arabic, "the eastern people." This was first corrupted into *Saracenoi*, by the Greek, and thence into *Saraceni*, by the Latin writers. The name seems to have been applied by Pliny to the Bedouin Arabs, who inhabited the countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and separated the Roman possessions in Asia from the dominions of the Parthian kings. In course of time, it became the general name of all the Arab tribes who embraced the faith of Islam, and spread their conquests widely through Asia and Africa, and part of Europe.

fairs. In this age, power and empire are in the hands of one people; in the next, a nation unheard of before comes forth, and rudely plucks it from their hands. By whose direction do these things occur?

> Happy the man who sees a God employ'd
> In all the good and ill that chequer life;
> Resolving all events, with their effects
> And manifold results, into the will
> And arbitration wise of the Supreme.—COWPER.

Reader, let it be your prayer, that you may enjoy this happiness, that you may see the Divine hand in past, present, and coming events!

A BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

MODERN HISTORY OF PERSIA.

The hand of the great Ruler of the universe may be as clearly traced in the modern, as in the ancient history of Persia. For more than two centuries after the Mohammedan conquest, the country was a mere province in the empire of the caliphs. With the decay, however, of the power of the caliphs, the spirit of independence revived, so that about A. D. 868, Yakub Ibu Lais threw off his allegiance to the caliph, founded the Soffarian dynasty, and fixed at Shiras the capital of a dominion including nearly all Persia.

His brother and successor, Amer, was subdued A. D. 900, by the Tartar family of the Samanides, who ruled Khorassan and Trans-Oxiana, till A. D. 999, while Western Persia again acknowledged allegiance to the caliph till A. D. 936, when the utter disruption of the Abbaside power threw it into the hands of the three sons of Bouyah, Amad-ed-doulah, Ruku-ed-doulah, and Moazz-ed-doulah, who shared the kingdom among them. These, with their successors, ruled Persia, with more or less success, till A. D. 1028, when Mahmood, who, thirty years before, had founded the dynasty of the Ghazneoides in Cabul and Khorassan, subdued their last successors in Eastern Persia.

The whole country was on the point of falling into the hands of this conqueror, when the Seljukian Turks, originally received as vassals by the Ghazneoide princes, snatched the prize from their hands. Pouring down from Central Asia, they defeated Massood, the son and successor of Mahmood, A. D. 1040, near Nishapur, and placed their own sultan, Togrul Beg, in possession of Persia, to which, A. D. 1055, he

added Bagdad and Irak, with the guardianship of the caliph ate, deposing the last of the house of Bouyah.

This Perso-Turkish monarchy rose to great splendour; but civil wars commencing between the sons of Malek Shah, about A. D. 1120, and continuing their devastations to the next generation, their power was gradually weakened, so that, A. D. 1194, Persia fell under the yoke of the Khorasmian sultan, Takash, who slew their last successor, Togrul III., and extended his sway from the Caspian and the sea of Aral, to the Indus and the Persian Gulf.

This mighty power, however, soon vanished. Gengis-Khan, the redoubtable ruler of the Moguls beyond the Jaxartes, invaded Persia, A. D. 1218, with a mighty host, and chased Mohammed, the successor of Takash, from his dominions. The son of Takash struggled manfully for the kingdom; but he dying, A. D. 1230, the Khorasmian power was dissolved, and Persia laid prostrate at the feet of the Moguls.

Gengis-Khan and his successors ruled in Persia during about ninety years, when Persia became divided and distracted by numberless petty dynasties perpetually at war with each other. This was the signal for another invader.

The celebrated Tamerlane, already master of Trans-Oxiana and Tartary, invaded Khorassan, in 1381, and in twelve years subdued Persia to his sway. In a few years after his death, however, Persia relapsed into a state of division and anarchy, worse than even that which had preceded his irruption. His son, indeed, ruled over Khorassan, Trans-Oxiana, and Tartary; but his descendants were expelled by the Uzbeks, at the end of the century, while the western provinces were contested by two races of Turkomans, distinguished by their emblems of the Black and White Sheep, the latter of which finally prevailed, A. D. 1469, under their leader, Hassan the Tall, ruler of Diarbekr.

The White Sheep dynasty was of brief duration. Hassan the Tall, encountering the superior power of the Ottoman sultan, Mohammed II., sustained a signal defeat in Anatolia, 1473, which greatly weakened his power, and his relatives and descendants were finally supplanted and crushed, in 1503, by Ismael Shah, the founder of the Seft, Sooffee, or Seffavean dynasty.

This race of sovereigns, by their rule and character, imparted to the Persian monarchy a greater degree of stability, and a more settled form of government, than it had enjoyed for some centuries. They sat on the throne of Persia during

two hundred and twenty years, at the end of which time, A. D. 1722, the Afghans of Cabul and Caudahar revolted, and, under their chief, Meer-Mahmood, routed the Persians at Goolnabad, and invested the Persian capital, Ispahan, which, after enduring the horrors of famine for seven months, was obliged to capitulate. Hussein, the last of the family of Ismael Sooffee, resigned his crown to the conqueror, and Persia fell under the yoke of the Afghans.

But the tenure of the Afghans also was brief in Persia. The crown prince, Tahmasp, with his great general, Nadir-Kooli, after a struggle of eight years, exterminated the invaders, and regained the throne of Persia. The real power, however, remained in the hands of Nadir, who dethroned Tahmasp, A. D. 1732, and placed his infant son, Abbas III., thereon, in whose name he governed as regent for four years, when the young monarch dying, Nadir declared the Seffavean dynasty at an end, and himself assumed the crown under the title of Nadir Shah.

This great man raised Persia, by his conquests, to a high state of prosperity; but his barbarities and avarice led to his destruction by the hands of his own subjects, A. D. 1747. Persia was now without a ruler, and anarchy and confusion prevailed every where. The Uzbek states threw off the yoke, and Afghanistan became an independent and powerful kingdom, while the crown was contested by several competitors, and the kingdom distracted by civil wars.

The successful competitor was Keerem-Khan, of the Zand family, who possessed himself of supreme power, A. D. 1759, which he held under the title of *Wakeel*, or Administrator, till his death, A. D. 1779. At the death of Keerem-Khan, fresh disorders prevailed in Persia.

During the period between 1779 and 1789, six chiefs ascended or claimed the sovereign authority; while Russia, in her insatiable thirst for dominion, encroached on the northern provinces, and added Georgia to its widely extended empire. At the end of this time, the candidates for royalty were reduced to two, Lutf Ali Khan Zend, and Aga Mohammed Khan Kajar, the latter of whom prevailed, A. D. 1795, and founded the Kajar, or reigning dynasty. This ruler was assassinated by his own attendants, whom he had provoked by his severities, and he was succeeded by his nephew, the late Shah Futtah Ali, who reigned from A. D. 1797 to A. D. 1834.

At the death of this prince, who ceded most of the Caspian provinces, with Eriwan and the country to the Araxes, to the

Russians, after two disastrous wars, a struggle commenced for the crown among his descendants; but it was speedily terminated, by the influence of England and Russia, in favour of the present Shah Mohammed, grandson of Futtah Ali, by his son Abbas Mirza, who died before his father, and while yet the crown was in his view.

Who next will ascend the throne of Persia, or how long the reigning dynasty shall sit thereon, the progress of time can alone unfold. Its situation between the two great Asiatic empires of England and Russia, and its manifest internal weakness would lead to a conclusion that it will never regain its former rank in the scale of nations. Of this, however, the reader may be assured, that, whether the Persian rulers still hold rule on the earth, or their power is absorbed in either of these great empires, all will be under the control of the great Disposer of human events—God. By his mandate

All regions, revolutions, fortunes, fates,
Of high, of low, of mind, and matter, roll
Through the short channels of expiring time,
Or shoreless ocean of eternity,
In absolute subjection.—YOUNG.

THE FOLLOWING

DYNASTIES OF THE PERSIANS

ARE TAKEN FROM DR. HALES.

I. PERSIAN DYNASTY.

529 YEARS.

		Y.	B. C.
1.	Kaiumarath, or Keiomarras Siamek (560).........	40	2190
	Kaiumarath again......................................	30	2150
2.	Hushang, or Houschenck, called Pischdad, or Chedorlaomer*..	50	2120
3.	Tahmuras...............................(700).........	30	2070
4.	Giamschid, or Giemschid................................	30	2040
5.	Dahak, Zahak, or Zoak...............(1000).........	30	2010
6.	Aphridun, Phridun, or Pheridun......................	120	1980
7.	Manugiar, called Phirouz...............(500).........	120	1860
8.	Nodar..	7	1740
9.	Apherasiab, or Afrasiab................................	12	1733
10.	Zoab, Zab, or Zoub......................................	30	1721
11.	Gershab, or Gershasp....................................	30	1691
	End of the dynasty.........	529	1661

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* Dr. Hales identifies Hushang with Chedorlaomer, from the circumstance of Hushang's having been slain, according to Persian romances, by some fragments of rocks hurled against him by the giants, his mortal foes, in the province of Adherbigian. Chedorlaomer, he says, might have been slain, either when surprised by Abraham in his camp, in the mountainous country, near the springs of the Jordan; or afterwards, upon his return home, in some later engagement. He *might*, but this is merely supposition, and besides, it is a question whether the history of Chedorlaomer is connected with that of the Persians: Elam not being Persia, properly so called. He adduces no other reason for the identification of this Scripture king with this hero of Persian romance and this is very unsatisfactory.

A long interregnum succeeds, and the Turanian, Assyrian, and Median dominations; after which succeeds the

II. KAIANAN DYNASTY.

PERSIAN KINGS, 228 YEARS.

		Y.	B. C.
1. Cyrus, or Kai Chosru, in Persia	8	30	559
Media	15		551
Babylon	7		536
2. Cambyses, or Lohorasp, 7y. 5m. Smerdis Magus 7m.		8	529
3. Darius, son of Hystaspes, or Gushtasp		36	521
4. Xerxes		21	485
5. Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ardshir Dirazdest, or Bahaman		41	464
6. Darius Nothus		19	423
7. Artaxerxes Mnemon		46	404
8. Ochus, or Darab I		23	358
9. Darius, or Codomannus, or Darab II		4	335
Conquered by Alexander, or Ascander		228	331

Here follow the Macedo-Grecian and Parthian dynasties, which held rule over Persia till the

III. PERSIAN DYNASTY.

SASSANIAN KINGS, 411 YEARS.

	Y.	M.	A. D.
1. Artaxeres, or Ardschir ben Babek	14	10	225
2. Sapor, or Schabour	31	0	240
3. Hormisdas, or Hormouz	1	0	271
4. Vararanes, or Baharam	3	0	272
5. Vararanes II., or Baharam II	17	0	275
6. Narses or Narsi (7)	8	0	292
7. Misdates, or Hormouz	7	5	300
8. Sapor II., or Schabour doulaktaf	70	0	307
9. Artaxerxes, or Ardschir	4	0	377
10. Sapor III., or Schabour ben Schabour	5	0	381
11. Vararanes IV., or Kerman Schah	11	0	386
12. Isdegertes, or Jesdegerd al Athim	21	0	397
13. Vararanes V., or Baharam Gour	23	0	418
14. Vararanes VI., or Jezdegerd ben Baharam (17)	18	0	441
15. Peroz, or Firouz	20	0	459
16. Valens, or Balasch ben Firouz	4	0	479
Cavad, or Kobad	11	0	483
17. Zambad	8	0	494
Cavad	30	0	502

		Y.	M.		A. D.
18.	Chosroes, or Nouschirvan	48	0	......	532
19.	Hormisdas II., or Hormouz ben Nouschirvan	8	0	......	580
20.	Chosroes II., or Khosru Perviz	39	0	......	588
21.	Siroes, or Schirouieh	1	0	......	627
22.	Ardesir, or Ardeschir ben Schirouieh (2 m.)	2	6	......	628
23.	Sarbaris, or Scheheriah (1 y. 1 m.)	2	0	......	630
	Hormisdas, or Jezdegerd ben Scheheriah	4	0	......	531
	Saracen Dynasty	411	0	......	632

END OF VOL. III.